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WORKS OF MARTIN LUTHER

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TRANSLATED
WITH
INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES

VOLUME VI

A. J. HOLMAN COMPANY
AND
THE CASTLE PRESS
PHILADELPHIA: PENNSYLVANIA

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LUTHER'S LITURGICAL WRITINGS

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The strictly liturgical writings which came from Luther's pen and other related writings,¹ together with a great number of allusions, assertions, denunciations, etc., of things liturgical in still other documents, comprise the material on the basis of which an estimate of Luther's activity and value in liturgical reform must be established and examined. Two diametrically opposite estimates are not only possible but may be drawn in fairness from these writings; and for each of these there is evidence enough.

The first estimate is not much to Luther's credit. It shows him as either an opportunist or a self-centered, opinionated, determined leader who wants to dominate this field as he does others. Or, even more, it shows him forced to action much against inclination or desire, and meeting the enforced issue with comparatively meagre ability. This estimate shows Luther to be an amateur, dabbling in a field of ecclesiastical learning with which he, at best, is but little acquainted; lacking both knowledge and a native sense of appreciation; uncertain not because of timidity but because of ignorance; nevertheless entering it with self-reliant boldness;—a "liturgist" of the poorest sort. But Luther was not a liturgist!

The other estimate is quite the opposite. As lacking and illy equipped for the task as the first estimate would have him be, the second reveals him as one imbued with the highest and finest appreciative sense of the whole cultus of the Church; wedded to it and lovingly loyal to its spiritual beauty and worth; with a reverence for the historic; a full devotion to the pure and true; a holy determination to centralize all in, and measure all after, the teachings and tradition of the Christ and His ancient Church. In this estimate every act at reform is emancipation of the inherently high and holy, ancient and pure, from the shackles of man-welded misuse and superstition and time's corroding accretions, and the

restoration of and to the rule and purpose of Christ Himself, and the simple and purposeful application of that to the worship-life of the believer. The liturgical,--the *Cultus*,--is not system and form and action, rite and ceremony and custom, to an objective end in itself; but it is the exponent of faith's life in Christ and the servant of the believer in Christ in his approach to his Lord. Only in this is it a true means to the one and only end. But Luther was not an historical idealist!

Evidence, abundant evidence, exists to substantiate both of these estimates. Is it a tribute to Luther's greatness that he presents such a complex? Is it not rather evidence of transition and the reflex of very marked situations and influences?

The first estimate is as much of an under-estimate of the Reformer's interest, gifts, and activities in this phase of church life as the second is over-estimation and idealization; neither of them is either fair or wholly true. Fusion of elements in both is not dodging any issue but the only fair thing to assert.

Luther did not know "liturgies" as he knew other branches of theological science; as a branch it had no existence whatever as far as he was concerned. But the practical things that are now the very center of liturgies, the Liturgy, the Offices, rites, ceremonies, and customs, these were everyday acquaintances. He had as much knowledge of these as the average monk of his day at least; these were the means and the dress of his own devotions and his priestly acts; and after early reaction against mere formalism and slavish mechanism, they still remained the vehicles for the expression of the deeply spiritual. As exhibits of a branch of theological science they probably never stirred his thought, but as the means and the dress of the worship of the child of God they were subjected to searching scrutiny to the end that they might wholly fulfil their purpose.

This lack of a so-called scientific liturgical knowledge may account for some of the things in Luther's attitude which bear all the marks of evasion and uncertain opinion; it may also account for manifest misdirection as it was a fruitful field for revolutionary actions. Great though he was in many respects and his mighty mind and force notwithstanding, he was no more perfect in this field than in any other. It cer-

tainly is as just to mark his mistakes and lack of judgment as it is to laud his lasting contributions to the worship of the Church. The former, as well as the latter, go to show his remarkable activity in this field, only one of many in which he was busy constantly.

Luther had a native sense both of the fitness of things liturgical and of their honest purpose; and, deeply spiritual man that he was, he could not help but follow the feel for the loftiest and holiest in expressing his own worship, and what was an intense desire on his part, in desiring to provide for the expression of the worship of the common people as well. These things were life, — the practical in church-, spiritual-, worship-, life; but they must express the true faith; there must be complete harmony there; this must be the glorious dress of the more glorious Jewel; the Supreme must have the supremacy, of its very essence, dominate, radiate, diffuse, infuse, give and receive. With the Word primary, evidential, all embracing, here is the vehicle of the Word and the Way to it.

So, rightly judged, the one all-controlling principle in every liturgical reform and application is the centralization of and approach to the Word. That which he and they possessed, in which they were expressing their worship-life, which had become part and parcel of their life, was not to be thrown aside ruthlessly either as inadequate or worthless; for that it was not: life had proved, and was still proving, otherwise. But it was to be measured by, and treasured for, the life it had found in and through this Word and only as it had served this Word. Only such elements as met this standard could be retained. Here reformation meant cleansing and retention of the pure and true, and not necessarily rejection or revolution or a new building; rather a restoration on the foundation of the ancient holiness and singleness and simplicity.

Luther's liturgical reform must be considered as dealing with a body of material already existing and in present, common use; likewise admitting that in this body of material is the expression of essential, pure worship in ancient simplicity and in harmony with the Word of God. This is capable of discovery; more, it is patent. Therefore, the purpose is not so much to abrogate or to cast aside the existing, but to retain, preserve, and continue it, in whole or in

part,—as much as is expressive of pristine teaching, simplicity, and purity. The essential of the Reformation is perpetuation of the true, not abrogation; renewal, not invention and fabrication *de novo*.

"It is not our intention to discontinue the Liturgy, but to restore it again to proper and correct usage." *Von ordnung.*

Now there are two ways of viewing Luther's activities and interest in liturgical reform and of attempting to evaluate the results.

The first is to subject them to a thoroughgoing review from the strict standpoint of the Cultus of the Church in general and historic liturgies,—principles, forms, and practices, —in particular. Naturally the method will be from this point backward, and matters which were not intended as mere liturgical productions will be subjected to a liturgical consideration and estimation only. This would presuppose acquaintance, equipment, and purposes which did not exist, and put Luther's liturgical writings and activities at a decidedly unfair disadvantage. This would serve to throw out of consideration contributory elements vital to a true estimate of the situations, and confine the examination to the limit of resultant forms, merely as such, as compared with relative forms preceding in point of development. An historical liturgico-critical method, in all fairness, dare not be the starting point; although it may be used to advantage at certain places in the study.

The other way is to attempt to approximate the situations in which Luther found himself and to discover his actual reactions in general as well as in these particulars.

As full knowledge as possible of the state of affairs in general is necessary. We must know as much as we can about the atmosphere and the means of worship then current. These can never be dissociated from the fact that they are definite expressions of the faith,—doctrine,—of the Church. We must see the people as related to, living in, and using this. We must become acquainted with the Church and its vast liturgical mechanism, and with its priesthood as a part of this. Then we must follow the rise of Reformation principles and consequent activities: their effect in practical relations, faith, life (works) of leaders, priests and people. As these principles are asserted, proven, and estab-

lished in wider circles, we must see how they react there, how they are actualized in life,—the effects shown in externals. Here one deals with a cross-section of real action. Here, too, are rebounds and reactions of various types, and personalities and unique characteristics bear unmistakable influences. But only in such fashion, by creating a fair exhibit of the then situation, can a fair approach be made to these activities of Luther and a real understanding gained of the reasons which actuated him.

The first of these approaches will eventuate in an estimate of Luther's activities akin to the first referred to above. The second will afford the opportunity of seeing him as he was in the atmosphere in which he worshiped and among the people with whom he worshiped, making use of the means common to both. A truer valuation of his principles and writings will be had by pursuing the latter method.

Luther, a son and priest of the Church, had not come to the place of prominence which he held in his Order without exhibiting some marked abilities. He had more than a fair amount of theological and other learning, as those things were counted in those days, and he was not without ambition to acquire more. He knew the people from whom he had sprung and among whom he lived; he knew their life in every phase of it; he was one of them; he learned to know his Church more and more. And he was beginning to find his way to Christ, beginning to discover that this Way diverged from the way he had been going guided by his Church. The new Way called; more and more intensely he sought it. Luther's own spiritual experiences colored everything from these days forward.

For the cloister life he had his Breviary for his daily devotions; when it was his privilege to say Mass, he had his Missal and the book with the Ordinary of the Mass and the minute rubrical directions for its celebration,—possibly a *Plenarium*. If he was called upon for other priestly ministrations, he had the ritual governing the administration of such offices, and a penitential system which governed matters connected with the confessional. He found, possessed and used,—was forced to, whether or no,—a vast system of worship, canonically established and ordered and well-nigh in universal use. Normally an average priest's life and ministrations would seldom demand of him the exercise of

anything out of this category: his office centered and expended itself in the administration of the externals; seldom did "doctrine" appear save as related to and imbedded in the externals. That was not a matter of faith and life but of practice. Naturally this sort of thing made for just what existed, a tremendous over-emphasis of the means used mechanically by an unthinking priesthood. What chance for incitement to thought or warmth of spirituality when almost every external contact was canonically governed and every action definitely ordered? Under such circumstances even the glory and beauty and spirit of the means would fade away and leave an emptied form slavishly, mechanically performed. Fortunately, there always are exceptions.

One cannot imagine Luther using Missal or Breviary or Ordines perfunctorily. His reaction against a slavish recitation of the daily Hours, merely to get them in or to make up for those omitted a previous day, came early in his experience. Disgust is a mild word to describe his criticism of formalism and the multiplicity of the forms and the superstitions surrounding them. He reacted; he voiced his disgust; he criticized; but nevertheless he continued to use. This was either because he, too, was a slave to this use or had found spiritual satisfaction in it. He was too honest to be a hypocrite. Is it too much to wonder whether his approach to these matters had not been spiritual and that he had found their true purpose and real beauty?--that their spirit responded to his hunger on his new found Way? At least he did not want to lay violent hands upon them; it was rather a gentle hand that wanted to be really helpful. Is this not borne out as from time to time he tries carefully to separate the wheat from the chaff? He could be emancipated from their formalism and still retain the form!

Every angle seems only to add to the proof that Luther really had studied what he was using. He had interest enough in other matters, which moved him to seek knowledge about them, to permit the supposition that here, too, he sought a closer acquaintance with the vehicles he used for what came to be for him a more and more needed and blessed communion.

Already in his day there were well-known commentaries on the Mass and Offices, etc. Some of these had been widely circulated. It is not unlikely that some of these books

may have been in the monastery library where Luther was not a stranger. Some of these writings were historical, others mystical and symbolic in interpretation. It would be ludicrous even to attempt to prove that Luther was a student of liturgics, but there are evidences a-plenty in his comments and writings which show an acquaintance with mediæval mystical and symbolic interpretations of certain liturgical forms and actions; and that he had some knowledge of historical antecedents cannot be doubted.²

That he was using the books of worship thoughtfully and unto edification his own critical attitude toward them shows; for he did not cast them aside, but centered his own spiritual needs' expressions in these self-same vehicles; and it is these which are the objects of his interests in liturgical reform.

With the denunciation of the abuses and superstitions connected with the sacrifice of the Mass and met at every turn in the worship system of the Church, the Reformation Movement could not long remain confined to doctrinal matters to the exclusion of practical issues. Naturally an attack would be launched against the externals in which these superstitions were garbed. It was one thing to denounce the sacrifice and to assert the evangelical doctrine, but this asserted demanded ultimately the consideration of a harmonious dress and a practice as evangelic as the doctrine. Then, too, if the common people who had been deprived of the blessed privileges of the Gospel were to receive them, these would have to be brought to them in a form which they could comprehend. Those things which held them bound had to be loosed; their enshrouded knowledge and life in the superstitious had to be displaced by knowledge of the Truth.

It is a mistake to assert that the common people were wholly ignorant. They were ignorant, worse than ignorant, in rudimentary education, but they were educated to and possessed full knowledge of the teachings of the Church. But these teachings were only such as the Church saw fit to give them,—a method of life, devised by the Church, deliberately taught her children, centered wholly in and fostered by mechanical obedience to ordered acts. The way to salvation was by the stairs the Church had erected. The child of the Church could climb,—if he did what he was taught,—

accompanied by a glorious company of friendly saints, but with just as mighty a company of terrifying spirits lurking in the near distance. Every step was an externality bathed in the colors of attractive superstition and nourished by the play on human fear; any view to right or left was carefully curtailed by the pomp of rite and ceremony. There was but one way,—up the stairs of the Church.

Oh, yes!—the common people were learned! They knew when to bow, to cross themselves, to beat their breasts; what to do today, what not to do tomorrow; what to eat, when to fast. They knew just which saint was effective in this situation, which in that; where they should make a pilgrimage, what to do and how much to "give" when another need arose. They knew the salutary strength of a vow, and exactly to whom to pray under certain necessities; what blessed trinket in pocket or wallet would protect from robbers or accident. They knew what would happen to them if they did not make their communion on at least one day of obligation; that they were perfectly safe for the day if they had gone to Mass; and how effective all this obedience was for the future! Oh, yes,—the common people were learned!

Luther, who in days gone by, just like any other common man, had called on Good Saint Ann for aid, now begins to criticize the whole system. At a comparatively early period in the Reformation Movement the abominations of the Mass are declared, the worship of the Church cluttered with superstition denounced. As time passes these references become more and more frequent and more and more pronounced; at times he waxes mightily eloquent; at others he is bitter, even vitriolic. However, he seems to have been satisfied to confine his criticisms to such statements and in expressing a wish that a change for the better might be made, but not to have made any definite or deliberate attempt at change or reform before 1523.

Others, who were sympathetic to the Movement and who agreed with Luther's criticisms and added their own, were not as patient in their own attitude toward these matters or disinclined to make any move. The result was that following the verbal lead of Luther, others began to make independent attempts at actual reform. These were, naturally more or less sketchy, tentative, and not at all far reaching;

but they were the beginning, inspired by Luther's deliverances, but independent of him and without consultation.

Luther's activities, other than verbal, were slow in coming. In almost every case they must be considered as not having been planned, but rather due to force of circumstances. A need, imperative, no longer to be evaded, was one cause; the actions and propositions of others, who had more zeal than balance, was another; and in time, "popular demand" a third.

The first things attempted centered in two objectives: The desire to harmonize the worship with evangelical teaching; that is, to make it expressive of what they asserted was the Truth; and to make it possible for the common people to participate intelligently in the worship by having it in the language they understood.

The former of these grew out of the serious indictment of the Canon of the Mass, but the first practical outcome was nothing more than saying the Words of Institution in the vernacular. The second, at the start, brought the Liturgical Lessons to the people in the vernacular in addition to the Words of Institution. A modest beginning surely. This was as early as 1519 and due to the activity of others than Luther. Other efforts followed rapidly. Some of the age-old customs long imbedded in the life and liking of the people, but none the less superstitious and subversive to the evangelical teaching, became the object of reform. Certain Offices, for example, such as Baptism, were administered here and there in the vernacular, that the people might understand both action and teaching. But whatever these early attempts, they were at best hesitant and gradual, and looking back on them from the present day they were often insignificant.

However, this group of apparently insignificant attempts became more and more formidable, particularly as some of the more impetuous personages in the Reformation Movement threw their interest into their wider-spread development. Here one must consider the activities of such a person as Carlstadt, who as early as 1519 began a definite attack on the traditional worship of the Church with attempts at reform. Of admitted ability and occupying a fairly prominent position, his activities gradually assumed the proportions of leadership, especially as Luther did not interfere. Apparently feeling his way at first, but as the reforms he

instituted seemed to meet with popular favor, he became more and more aggressive, zealous and revolutionary. His teachings, influence and example fired others; among them Zwilling, who with other zealous companions committed scandalizing excesses in the name of reform. Carlstadt, Zwilling, *et al*, with their "Evangelical Mass" and wide open altar, their denuded churches and celebrants in everyday clothes, their sudden and almost complete abrogation of the established and their asserted "freedom" that was only license and excess, were examples of how quickly, hard, and far the swing away could go. Had Luther felt this possibility and therefore bided his time, moving very slowly? Had the fear of such things caused him to hesitate? But with Carlstadt and Zwilling so zealously and outrageously active at the very center of things, Wittenberg, Luther did not long hold back.

Fortunately there was but one aggressive Carlstadt; but he was not the only one interested in these matters. Others acted with more discretion and finer sense, but just as earnestly to serve. Kaspar Kantz was one of these, and he has left an "Evangelical Mass" to testify to his earnest purpose.

By the time Luther takes his first formal step in liturgical reform, the appearance of his *Von ordenung gottis diensts inn der gemeyne*, the churches espousing the evangelical cause presented a variety of results in practices and purposes which indicated a fairly widespread feeling for a cleansing of the worship of the Church and a practical approach to the same. This movement was here; here to stay and work its way out. How would it be worked out? Who naturally would direct it?

One must remember that the Liturgy of the Mass was not the only thing to be considered. The atmosphere of worship, the Church Year with its saint-burdened days; ecclesiastical conditions which were part and parcel of the life of the common people; the rites and ceremonies attending almost every phase of their relationship with the Church from the cradle to the grave and the attendant superstitions which bound the people and well-nigh blotted out all that was good;—all of these, because they were saturated with the spirit and cultus of Rome, came in for careful scrutiny and were the natural objects for reform. The field in its many ramifications was tremendous. The whole situation and the possible effects which might result by disturbing the situation

and attempting reform were enough to make one pause and consider seriously. Results were not to be arrived at in a moment. Immediate needs might be met by a suggestion here or a suggestion there; but whether they would carry sufficient "authority" to insure acceptance; or wear, serve the purpose and minister unto spiritual edification, at the same time satisfying a people wedded to almost opposite things, was a serious question.

Another matter which is seldom considered in this situation is the fact that of all the men earnestly interested in the Reformation Movement there were comparatively few who had the knowledge requisite for conservative reform, or what one, for want of a better term, must name, the feel for it. Strange to say, the best ability for this sort of thing seems to have been in possession of men who ran to excess. In the few other cases, where there might be hope that this ability would come to the fore, Luther's dominating personality almost overshadowed and acted as a check.

Luther, himself, is a peculiar mixture viewed from the standpoint of things liturgical. At times he may be considered the last word in keen appreciation, apparently possessing a fair knowledge of the matters with which he is dealing. At another time he seems to lack the very first thing necessary. Sometimes his acts, or his writings, or his dicta are nothing more than a tryout and an uncertain thing at that, or a mere politic move, or a deliberate counter-irritant. At other times he reaches a lofty plane of idealism and beauty, and harmony with the historic which leaves little to be desired.

Remembering his many-sided and constant activities, the amount of interest he showed in things liturgical and the results of his thinking,—or non-thinking,—which came from his pen are remarkable. He has expressed himself on almost every phase of the worship of the Church and by and large, has been a fairly good diagnostician. But sometimes he permitted himself to run to the novel, whether because of sheer perversity of spirit or a childish smartness or a desire to experiment, and then the results are by no means happy.

It required a tremendous amount of self-confidence to face the issue of breaking with tradition, universal custom and wedded practice and to advance counter propositions, at the same time making adequate provision for their introduction.

For example, he not only proposes a vernacular service and insists on the active participation of the people, but sets about providing the means by which the people may participate. Luther not only became a hymnist to satisfy this need but was active in providing the music to which the hymns were to be sung. Translation of the Scriptures served this end likewise. The Litany "corrected" and translated into German; translated collects, etc., gave the people prayer forms. And finally in his *Deutsche Messe*, he has not only a vernacular Mass, but a congregation participating most actively, and in by far the greater part, the means to this end are of his providing!

Of course, all of Luther's activities in this field were bound and colored by the doctrine which he espoused. The centralization of the Word and the constant and great emphasis,—almost amounting to over-emphasis, which he placed upon it quite naturally forced him to break with the practices of the Roman Church which centralized and constantly emphasized the sacrificial. While Luther does not neglect the Mass,—the celebration of Holy Communion,—or over-shroud it, he does place a tremendous importance on the preaching of the Word. The read Word, of course, has its place, which in all respects remains quite normal to Roman use,—and Luther never breaks with Roman use without definite reason and deliberate purpose,—but the read Word is never to appear unless accompanied by exposition or preaching. In fact a constantly reiterated principle is that the congregation is not to gather for worship unless the Word be preached, and the idealized service of Divine Worship is just this in which the Word is centralized. This objective brought about some remarkable suggestions and experiments; for one may say they showed uncertainty as to just what he wanted done in this particular. For example, the daily services he suggested in his *Von ordnung gottis diens* are to have definite readings of Scripture always followed by the exposition of the portion read. This is to be both morning and evening. In his most conservative writing, the *Formula missae*, the sermon finds a fairly normal position consequent to the reading of the Word; but he nevertheless suggests that it might be placed at the very beginning of the service, "before the Introit of the Mass;" similar suggestions are made at other places,—a variety of

uses proposed. This is a fair example of Luther's uncertainty in liturgical matters, something which is met with frequently in his writings; but it also reveals his purpose in seeking the best; in this particular, where the sermon, which is so important to him, will be distinctively outstanding and given a weight and value which it never had before.

Luther asserts emphatically that he has no intention of abrogating the accustomed services. Whatever the revisions or suggestions he may make, these are to be on the basis of the practices in use. The services of the Church remain the vehicles of Divine Worship, capable of expressing the pure and the true again, which they certainly did in time gone by, but which have been driven out or overshadowed by superstition and man's invention. Here he acknowledges more than mere historicity. He sees in these appointments the Church's worship from the earliest ages, still preserving evidences of the primitive and reflecting the simplicity of purest and highest purposes. His own purpose in the cleansing is to restore the original intention and action. These ancient actions and forms are sacred; they reflect the spirit of the earliest Church; they harmonize completely with the purest teaching of Christ and His Apostles, therefore they are not only worthy of retention, but should be retained and treasured in evangelical practice.

This reverence for and true valuing of the services of the Church never left him: his *Formula missae* and even the *Deutsche Messe* witness this; he is reformer not revolutionist; his spirit is that of devotion and churchliness.

But simplicity and doctrinal purity are not the only objectives; the worshiper is to participate in every action not only intelligently but worshipfully. These forms are not only to enrich him, but to serve as the vehicles of his own actions in Divine Worship: to participate is to receive and to give.

The "form," however, as a mere form, is worthless; for that devitalizes and becomes mere emptiness. But that which serves unto edification is to remain. The principle of judgment and the basis of retention or rejection is wholly that of the Gospel and this service unto edification. In this the Christian is the judge!—but his decision must subserve the ancient law of liberty,—love; and in the final analysis, only

as the Church is the unity of Christian believers may she determine and project such matters.

As the form,—the worship,—is to enrich the believer and to serve as his own expression of spiritual outgiving, it must be his own possession, part and parcel of his life. Therefore the vernacular and needed exposition and the expressed hope of making all this really his possession by placing it in his hands for home as well as church use.

Then lest "liberty" be misunderstood and result in a variety of form and practice, which because of the lack of uniformity throughout the churches may be a cause of offense to the simple minded, a common practice is to be sought not for the form's sake, but for love's sake. Uniformity is desirable, but desirable only because its opposite is destructive of the harmony and unity of Christians and their spirit of worship.

Luther's three major liturgical writings, the *Von ordnung gottis diensts im der gemeyne*, the *Formula missae*, and the *Deutsche Messe*, represent three distinct phases in his attitude toward liturgical reform; they likewise represent the limit to which he was willing to go. These documents are his *personal* releases; and they must be considered with all of his position and influence attached to them; but they cannot be valued properly without consideration of the circumstances immediately preceding them.

The *Von ordnung*, Luther's first formal step definitely related to congregational worship, holds every evidence of being a *first* writing on the subject; it likewise betrays evidence of haste. It is sketchy, and as one reads it, one is constrained to feel that Luther wrote it primarily because he had to. Carlstadt's over-zealous activities culminating in marked and disturbing changes in the practice of the Stadtpfarrkirche at Wittenberg; the disorders attending his disrupting teachings; and the Leisnig request, are to be considered as the main causes of this first writing.* The first paragraph is Luther's answer to these disturbers and their new measures; and throughout the entire document is a constant assertion of opposition to a break, clean and decisive, with the old use, and at the same time a quite definite, but, in places, simplified, retention of the accustomed. Undoubtedly his writing acted more like a brake than an aid; probably that was the intention. There are typical Luther criticisms a-plenty.

The *Formula missae* is a quite different document. It is Luther's best and outstanding liturgical writing. Issued but a few months after the release of the *Von ordenung*, it reveals a Luther who has had to think these matters over seriously and carefully and who is now ready to write about them in that spirit and at length.

The movement for liturgical reform has become widespread. Section after section is attempting an "Evangelical Mass," with many varieties resulting and many spirits evident. Thomas Münzer has added his contribution (not a poor one at that!—but from the Reformer's point of view a contaminated source). Luther's friends are insistent that he declare himself and give direction. The call for help, for definite direction, is insistent; those espousing the Reformation want the *reformed* Mass, but they want it as the Faith alone will dress it.* The *Formula missae* is the answer to this.

It is a conservative, helpful, constructive document. Here is revealed the sometime son of the Church treading his new found Way but still valuing the treasures of his heritage, purposing to cleanse it of the impure and useless and to glorify the worship of God with that in this heritage which always has been and still is expressive of the age-old experience of Christendom. That he alludes to the genesis of certain rites or to certain liturgical antiquities will at least quiet the assertion that he was altogether without historical knowledge of these matters. There are criticisms which compared with others in other writings are quite mild; there are suggested departures from current practice; but for both criticism and departure there is apparent good reason. These are harmonious with the evangelical doctrine, and, yet, they are expressive of historic continuity: the very thing Luther quite evidently set out to prove not only possible but as being truly indicative of every edifying rite and practice. He again writes about unity of practice and the Christian's liberty as related thereto. Of course there are weak spots and not all that he has suggested is worth while, but, nevertheless, this writing is the high point reached in his liturgical activities. It is a pity he was not satisfied to stop with this, for his last major liturgical writing, the *Deutsche Messe*, rivaled the conservative spirit of the *Formula* and

nourished another "tendency" which found living strength and its "authority" for existence in the *Messe*.

The *Deutsche Messe* arrived three years after the two foregoing documents. If one were looking for a descriptive phrase that would distinguish it, in contrast with the other conservative writings, this is distinctly a "popular" production. As such, it quite naturally exerted the greater influence on those sympathetic to the Reformation, without being as truly expressive of the real genius of the Movement as was the *Formula missae*. The *Formula* lacked the vernacular adaptation but it retained the historic, simplified and purified. The *Messe* is thoroughly vernacular and as thoroughly congregational, and experiment after experiment is suggested, and carried out; but it lacks the conservative spirit of the *Formula*. The full swing away from the conservatism of the distant and not so distant past is in the making; and the opening wedge for independence and looseness in practice is ready at hand. A fine ideal is deliberately and painstakingly pressed to the limit; but this document only goes to show how a fine ideal successfully realized may be at the expense of other important issues.

Luther was attempting a fuller and greater service of the common people. In contrast with their almost complete inactivity in the old-time Mass, the *Messe* makes them constantly active in act after act of worship, even placing in their hands substitutes for previous choir acts against which no serious objection could be advanced. There is a forced and entirely over-emphasized introduction of the congregational hymn, with its kindred versification of liturgical parts,—the poorest versification of which Luther was guilty. His whole-hearted provision for the participation of the common people in the worship led Luther into suggestions which he apparently did not think through. Unfortunately others proceeded to adopt them without doing any more thinking through than had he.

These two almost diametrically opposite types of liturgical writing do not represent Luther so much in a process of transition as they show him to be rather changeable, and careless and indifferent, at length, to the high service of the past and the present, and ready to do almost anything that will harmonize with "his Gospel" or that will express his present thought.

It is a pity that the *Deutsche Messe* became the influential document that it did. It had been born of much demand and constant urging, and Luther had put a great deal of work upon it, much more than is apparent at a general reading. The musical settings and directions are in themselves a work of no little labor; and break as he did in this writing with more than one conservative practice in favor of a more popular use, he still retained the old churchly mode both in the directions and in the musical forms. But it was to apparel this common people's Mass in a complete dress, ready for use by each and all. It was decidedly a popular issue and the *Messe* became a popular Order. It certainly satisfied a people who were uncertain as to where they stood in their worship,—priests and people,—and who were demanding more and more release from age-old habit and practice. It exhibits the marked reaction of a reform movement, which is always a quite natural outcome of such movements, whether there is actual necessity to take as far-reaching steps or not. And viewed from the standpoint of reaction, one does not wonder at its popularity; but viewed from the standpoint of liturgical history and Reformation principles and claims, one is surprised at the resultant influences.

One of the most popular acts of the worship of the common people which felt and yielded to the force of the early wave of reform and cleansing, was the Litany,—the Litany of All Saints. Its use was discontinued almost from the time of Carlstadt's radical changes, and it remained unused by the Evangelicals for some years. But it was not forgotten. It was one of the comparatively few activities in worship which the common people possessed. It had become deeply imbedded in their life and practice. It was a devotion which was cherished. Luther, too, must have cherished it; for he speaks of it in highest terms, even saying it is the finest prayer under heaven next to the Lord's Prayer. Of course, the "abominations" therein were not included in the praise!—these removed, it was *prayer*,—in the most glorious Christian sense.

The first allusion to the Litany in years comes in a writing of Luther against the Turks in 1528, where he speaks of the great necessity for the people to unite in prayer against this calamity,—“in the Mass, in the Vespers, in the Litany.” We do not know definitely, but it is possible that

the Litany was then in process of reintroduction in the Wittenberg church. But this necessity was but one contributing cause; another and probably more important was Luther's policy of providing the means for a more and more helpful worship for the common people. This form of prayer was preeminently fitted to his ends. It afforded opportunity for the inclusion of petitions related to the many needs of life. It meant an active participation on the part of the congregation. It had not been forgotten and it still was loved; and, if cleansed, it was a real treasure house of devotion.

Luther dissociated it from the processions, and located its use in the church in congregational worship. It now becomes one of the high points in their formal worship practices and a use distinctive of the Reformation.

Luther's revision of the Litany of All Saints is one of the finest pieces of liturgical work accomplished by him. It was carried out with appreciative feeling and marvellously good taste. It represents both cleansing and construction,* but this is always carried out in the ancient spirit of the prayer. Then, too, there are elements representing independent thought and writing, which reveal Luther in his true light, a man of power in prayer. He has given the Church a blessed heritage in the "Litany corrected": exactly that, *corrected*, not revised:—the genius of the Reformation was to correct and construct on the basis of the ancient and pure pattern.

The general supposition is that the Litany first appeared in German and was used in the Wittenberg church, although this would seem to be the unnatural order, as the revision would proceed from the Latin first. After this try-out it was printed first in separate form; this was as early as 1528. The following year it is found in three forms: as a separate print, in the *Enchiridion*, and in the *Geistliche Lieder* (Klug), which three classifications of publications show how widely it was introduced and how popular it became in a short time. The Latin form,—*Litania correctæ*,—after being printed as a separate pamphlet, appeared in the Latin edition of Luther's *Betbüchlein*, 1529. From these beginnings the Litany went throughout the Church.

With Luther interested in the reform of the cultus to the extent of issuing formal writings embodying his suggestions and proposals, one may suppose that his desires would not

rest with mere suggestions. His objective was the congregation and their complete, intelligent, and spiritual participation in the worship. Pious hopes and wishes were one thing; ideals another; but Luther would not have been Luther had he not at least attempted to realize hopes and ideals to the extent of his ability.

The year 1523 was the real beginning of his personal activity in cleansing the services; all that he wanted done here was not accomplished at once by any means; but a good beginning had been made. Under the inspiration of this beginning and with the school children and his "common man" ever in view, and with his usual enthusiasm, Luther embarks on another venture. Had he been able to find just what he wanted, the probabilities are that he would have been satisfied with that; but not finding it, he set about providing it . . . the evangelical, congregational hymn. This sounds rather deliberate; but had he not set just this ideal? Was he not constantly emphasizing it?

By the end of 1523 Luther had written a number of Christian songs and hymns, and in 1524 the *Geystliche Gesangk Buchleyn*, commonly spoken of as the Walther Choir Book, was issued at Wittenberg.* This book was issued with a Preface by Luther and contained twenty-four hymns from his pen!—one pauses here, simply to repeat, "twenty-four hymns," remembering his many other activities.*

This was a brave beginning, indeed; valued from the standpoint of the people it was probably his most helpful and by all odds the most popular of his productions. In this connection many of his natural gifts had full play. Luther was clever in adapting; he was successful in versified translating; and to these he added original hymn poems. He was mightily in earnest in his desire to put hymns into the hands, hearts, and mouths of his school children and other followers. Lover of music himself, he wanted the services of that art to uplift the spirits of the common people in prayer, praise, and thanksgiving; to enhance their worship with all its inspiring beauties.

Naturally all of his hymns are not of equal merit, or even of medium merit; but Christian hymnody is made the richer by his *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*, — where is a finer hymn?—by his *Vom Himmel hoch*,—where is a more tender, intimate, Christmas hymn?—by his *Erhalt uns, Herr*,

bei deinem Wort; where is a more majestic, profound, prayer for the Kingdom?

Most of his hymns were written to meet a direct need or under an immediate inspiration; but the fact that he was able to meet such need, and in most cases to do it so well, is but another testimony to his versatility and unique greatness.

As these hymns were primarily intended to be sung and as such were his gifts to the worship of the common people, his interest in their publication and dissemination in hymn books is another phase of his activity. For such books Luther wrote three Prefaces⁸ in the course of years which are distinctive of his interest and spirit. And again in these Prefaces we find him going back to the Scriptures for precedent and foundation for the provision he is making for the masses in their worship. In the more formal connection of congregational worship his fullest purpose is reached in his *Deutsche Messe*, where the congregational hymn is introduced in almost every connection. But his other desire is accomplished when his books enter the home and are used there in the worship of the household and in the private devotions of the individuals.

The popularity of the privilege of singing and of the hymns themselves enlisted the interests of various printers who ventured to loan his hymns in books of their own on their own responsibility. One case is a reprint, pure and simple, issued anonymously; another is an "edited" edition with some changes made in the text, etc. It is not surprising to find Luther, in one of the later Prefaces, resentful of plagiarism of his work and of anonymous publication of the same and of tinkering with it, and to find him issuing a very frank warning against printing his hymns without his permission.

One of his books is unique in Christian hymnody. It is the little book of funeral hymns; probably the first of its kind ever issued.

In this field of churchly activity, Luther again has left the Church a blessed heritage. First his principles and purposes, which have been wonderfully, and universally, realized in Protestantism's worship; then the hymns themselves, all of which have been translated into English and a number of which are in almost universal use; and finally his example, which has eventuated in that great body of Christian hymn-

nody contributed by the sons and daughters of the Reformation. Every age of the Church's life has made its contribution to this treasure, but from the Church of the Reformation has come the hymn that reaches the intimacies of spiritual experience, that burns with the fire of faith and love, that pours itself out in the closeness of personal union with the Lord Jesus. This is the unique gift and outcome of this activity.

There is a little known writing of Luther's which dates from the year 1525, in which he joins with two other leaders of the Reformation Movement in advising a congregation in Livonia about externalities in worship and uniformity of practice. This is of more than passing interest as it covers questions and offers advice in situations which disturbed the unity and harmony of the Church in that day and still exist in equally disturbing character in the Church of the Reformation today.

It is an important document because of the position taken by Luther on the question of *adiaphora*: on the surface one quite the opposite to his previous rather emphatic assertions on the subject. It must be placed beside his previous deliverances; but one must remember, as one studies it, that time has passed since these were made; that meanwhile practical issues have arisen and presented a difficult problem which demanded solution.

The situation facing the Livonian congregation was not an isolated one. The like existed at many other places.

Practices, rites, ceremonies, forms, etc., are *adiaphora*. This was true; there was no law about them. This Luther asserted repeatedly. That liberty in deciding matters connected with worship rested with the local congregation or authorities (!); that this whole question was "free," Luther had likewise asserted in unmistakable language. Perhaps he was right to a greater degree than he was wrong; but he left the door open for a lot of unwelcome visitors to enter! For did he not fail to take into consideration certain definite practical values,—those of organization, authority, and much to be desired uniformity? Had his ideal only been reaction from the Roman example where all of these were in force?

The churches espousing his Cause might be individualistic; but relation to and espousal of the common Movement brought corporate responsibilities. The Church of the Refor-

mation has been a long time arriving at this consciousness!—but on the other hand it was quick to assert then, and always has been, and to practice liberty of action in these and many other matters. What Luther laid down as an ideal principle and, if rightly comprehended, the ideal method, became through sheer force of the assertive will of others a disturbing element in the development of the Church's life. Was it possible that there might be a time and a situation when such matters might no longer be *adiaphora*?—when the ideal would yield to a practical expression on quite different terms?

Luther was seeing and reaping a certain kind of harvest that man could make out of his sowing, when he faced situations such as this in the Livonian congregation. This document recognizes the difficulties. It does not voice any betrayal of the ideal, or any yielding of it; but here he faces the practical issue growing out of the ideal's failure! This in its way was as much of a scandal as the former abominations had been in theirs. It was not the first time in Luther's experience that the ideal had not worked out successfully; human nature did not always absorb idealism even under Gospel freedom. More than one priest, more than one congregation, more than one section, soon grasped their "freedom" and forthwith became a law unto themselves.

Luther clung to the ideal, but he faced the situation! This is not his first deliverance on the subject; previous writings had held warnings and also suggestions. Is it remarkable that he now advises *uniformity of practice*?

This is not a swing about, but it is his answer to the situation as he leaves theorizing and faces practice on the basis of his theory. Had he not interpreted, more than once, the individual's freedom to be the slavery of love to his fellows? It is a freedom which lives only in the good of all and not in selfish emphasis of individual right and decision! So the problem is solved, and the solution is evangelical: the unity of faith, of love, of fellow-believers in the Lord Jesus is the answer.

In the many practical issues and problems connected with the externalities of worship in the Church today, it would be well if the Church would go back to this writing of Luther, "read, mark, and inwardly digest it"; and in the spirit of the "freedom" and love he there inculcates, take his

good advice and practice it!—the gracious attitude toward each other as a real beginning, is an admirable starting point, as he suggests; is it not?

Luther is likewise responsible for three Orders for pastoral or ecclesiastical acts. These are the *Order for Baptism* (1523; revised 1526), the *Order for Marriage* (1529), and the *Order for Ordination* (1539).⁹ The necessity once more in all three cases is the inspiration of his writing.

The *Order for Baptism* is the only one of the three which conforms with the historical tradition. The Order of 1523 carries but minor changes, the whole objective seems to have centralized in putting the current Order into German. The revised Order of 1526, however, bears the imprint of the Reformation; here is cleansing and simplification. This Order exhibits Luther's translation and editing of Roman collects; his work is interesting; his expansions are not always original.

The *Order for Marriage* does not deserve the name. It is even more uncertain than the uncertain opinions connected with the rite current at that time. Neither Luther nor the others had found themselves as yet to any degree of certainty here. But one thing seems to stand out, namely, putting the churchly touch to a civil contract. Perhaps this was due to the strong reaction from the traditional ecclesiastical rites and the emphasis of the rights of the State over against arrogated rights of the Church. Then, too, connected customs, some centuries old, were offensive; the desire was for simplification. The Church today still puts her imprimatur on a civil contract; this is her inheritance from this so-called Order; and she, no more than they, has not successfully answered the question raised by the transition from the old, —the tradition,—to the spirit of the new, although she has striven to emphasize the spiritual in her present Order.

The day was bound to come when men would have to be ordained to the ministry of the Church of the Reformation. When it did arrive two important matters had to be settled. Essentially what is the Ministry, and what is ordination? These questions are answered in Luther's *Order for Ordination*. This is expressive of the doctrine of the Reformation Movement and opposite to the Roman conception and to the Roman Order. Luther's Order must be viewed as a step in transition and possibly as the first definite contribution

to meet a necessity which had but lately arisen in Evangelical circles. As such it is blazing the way, and is open to further adaptation in the course of time.

When one remembers the vast amount of work which occupied Luther in other connections, one is amazed at the sum-total of his liturgical activities. These did not eventuate in a mere group of writings, exhibits of opinions or summaries of teachings; they were effective contributions,—the practical instruments for active use. Here were the *furnishings* for the house of worship which the Movement possessed.

The success of Luther's contributions and their real value can, at this day, be estimated from an angle other than the liturgical; that is, from the standpoint of their influence and abiding worth. They outlived the period of their immediate service; they have never ceased living, or for that matter contributing their influence. The results of Luther's liturgical activities remain in the life of the Church today.

While he was not the pioneer in using the vernacular in worship, nor the one to make the first practical attempt, or the first to issue the first complete vernacular service, his *Deutsche Messe*, outfitted with his hymns and prayers and the New Testament lessons in the vernacular, was the climax of this effort and became the most popular service of the period. It was successful not alone as an experiment but as a lasting use. It became the authoritative norm for this type of service.

The *Deutsche Messe* with its great popular appeal and its wide reach of freedom and simplicity, on the one hand, and the constructive, churchly *Formula missarum* with its traditional values and its liturgical conservatism, on the other hand, have made a lasting impression on the worship life of the Church. The probabilities are that the *Messe* wielded the stronger influence, but the *Formula* exerted the better. It was this latter type of service that Luther really preferred. The other had been forced by popular demand in part and was something of an interesting experiment,—an attempt to complete wholly what he had held up as an ideal, toward which he had been working when, for example, he provided the vernacular hymns, etc., for the use of the people in worship. Its greatest appeal and cause for popularity was in

that it made the congregation a constantly active participant.

Results were greater than Luther had anticipated. Many sections adopted the *Deutsche Messe* as their service use or made it the model of what was there authorized. And this tradition has obtained in these sections ever since!

The *Formula*, however, was not forgotten; nor did it lack friends. It became the model for the more conservative sections of the Reformation group.

These two documents must be accepted as the leading influence in the worship life of every section of the growing Church of the Reformation. One or the other or both inspired the many *Kirchen Ordnungen* of Germany. Their influence was felt in the Scandinavian, Austrian and Baltic Orders. They contributed to the liturgical reforms instituted in England. Through the KOO they have molded the services of the *Common Service Book* of the American Church in use today.

All of his hymns have been translated into English and a fair part of them have made their way into wide usage: some of them are in universal use.

Elements of his *Order for Baptism* are perpetuated in the present Order of the Church; his other Orders, likewise, have borne influence.

His *Corrected Litany* is the Litany we use today; its influence is apparent in the Litany in the use of the Anglican Church.

The conservatism of the Luther of the *Formula* is the spirit of the Church's attitude in things liturgical today.

His *Collects* are in the Church's Service Book.

But one thing out of the great variety of all that he has done in this great field of Church work seems to have been ignored, and that is his advice concerning uniformity of practice.

When all the criticisms have been made; when all of our dislikes for some of the things for which he stood have been recorded; when sometimes we fail to appreciate his motives and cannot understand how he could be so vacillating and uncertain; when all of his mistakes have been enumerated carefully and deliberately, and sometimes maliciously!—when all of this is said and done, Luther must still be accorded a recognition in things liturgical which is both fair

to him and to the great tasks he set out to do and his performance of those tasks. He still lives in the imprint that he has made upon the worship of the Church.

PAUL ZELLER STRODACH

NOTES TO GENERAL INTRODUCTION

¹ A list of the liturgical writings and related writings is appended to this Introduction, p. 41.

² Luther, no doubt, in his preparation for the priesthood in the Erfurt monastery, studied the writings of the famous Tübingen scholar, Gabriel Biel, on the Exposition of the Mass.

³ See the Introduction to the *Von ordnung*, p. 51ff.

⁴ See the Introduction to the *Formula missae*, p. 67ff.

⁵ See the Introduction to the Litany, p. 243 Cf. also the notes appended to translations and the table of comparisons.

⁶ The so-called *Achtliederbuch*, four of whose eight hymns are Luther hymns, and the *Erfurter Enchiridion*, eighteen of whose twenty-four numbers are by Luther, were issued in this year also. Whether these books preceded the *Geystliche Gesangk Buchleyn* in date of issue or not is a question difficult to answer either way!—and it is just as difficult to establish Luther's connection with them. Usually they are considered independent ventures of the publishers; and it is claimed, on the basis of linguistic qualities, that the *Achtliederbuch*, notwithstanding the fact that the title page carries *Wittenberg* as place of publication, is actually a South German, probably Nürnberg, publication.

⁷ See below, pp. 278, 283, 299ff.

⁸ See below, pp. 283ff.

⁹ See below, pp. 197, 225, 237,

The *Formula missae*, the *Deutsche Messe*, and the *Common Service Book* as related to the *Missale Romanum*

Missale Romanum	Formula missae (Latin)	Deutsche Messe (German)	Common Service Book (English)
1—The Act of Preparation; by the priest and servers before the altar.			1—Adapted to congregational action. Invocation Invitation to Confession Versicles and Confession and Collect Declaration of Grace 2—Introit
2—Introit	2—Introit	Hymn (vernacular) or German Psalm	3—Kyrie (3 times)
3—Kyrie (9 times)	3—Kyrie (9 times)	3—Kyrie (3 times)	4—Gloria in excelsis
4—Gloria in excelsis—Et in terra—	4—Gloria in excelsis— Et in terra		Et in terra
5—Salutation	5—Salutation		5—Salutation
6—Collect	6—Collect	6—Collect (Facing altar)	6—Collect
7—Epistle	7—Epistle	7—Epistle (Facing people)	7—Epistle
8—Gradual, or	8—Gradual, shortened and with (10) Alleluia	Hymn—German: Nu bitten wir den heiligen geist	8—Gradual (Ending in Tract [See 9] during Lententide)
9—Tract, or	or		10—Alleluia or
10—Alleluia	10—Alleluia		
11—Sequence	(11—Only three Sequences approved)		
12—Gospel	12—Gospel	12—Gospel	12—Gospel
12a—Glory be . . .	12a—Glory be . . .		12a—Glory be . . .
12b—Praise be . . .	12b—Praise be . . .		12b—Praise be . . .
(Then anciently the place of the Sermon)			
(Then anciently the Dismissal of the Catechumens, etc.)			

The *Formula missae*, the *Deutsche Messe*, and the *Common Service Book* as related to the *Missale Romanum*

Missale Romanum	Formula missae	Deutsche Messe	Common Service Book
(Latin) 13—Nicene Creed	(Latin) 13—Nicene Creed	(German) 13—Creed — German and versified: Wir glauben all Sermon on Gospel for Sunday or Festival	(English) 13—Nicene Creed at Communion and Festivals; Apostles' other times. Hymn Sermon Votum
14—Offertory (Prayers and actions)	14—is abrogated specifically. Preparation of Elements during Creed (13) or after Sermon.		14—Offertory, consisting of Sentences, Offering, General Prayer, Lord's Prayer, except at Holy Communion.
15—Preface 15a—Salutation 15b—Sursum 15c—Gratias 15d—Vere dignum 15e—Proper Preface 15f—Sanctus 15g—Benedictus qui 16—The Canon of the Mass 16a—Te igitur 16b—Memento, Domine 16c—Communicantes 16d—Hanc igitur 16e—Orem oblationem 16f—Qui pridie (The Verba)	15—Preface 15a—15d (15f and 15g, see below) 16—abrogated specifically, as such 16f—Qui pridie (Consecration)	Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer	15—Preface 15a—15g, in unbroken order. 16f—Lord's Prayer 16f—Verba

The *Formula missae*, the *Deutsche Messe*, and the *Common Service Book* as related to the *Missale Romanum*

Missale Romanum (Latin)	Formula missae (Latin)	Deutsche Messe (German)	Common Service Book (English)
16g—Unde et memores 16h—Supra quae 16i—Supplices te 16j—Memento etiam 16k—Nobis quoque 16l—Pater noster Liberam nos : : 16m—Pax Domini (The Communion)	15f—Sanctus 15g—Benedictus qui Elevation (cf. 16) 16l—Lord's Prayer 16m—Pax Domini Communion of cele- brant first, then the people while 16o—Agnus dei, is sung	(15f—Sanctus—German, versified: Iesaja dem propheten das geschah, sung during distribu- tion of the Bread; or, Gott sei gelobet, or, Jesus Christus unser heiland. Elevation (cf. 16f) during Cup blessed. Remainder of hymns sung at 16o (See above)	(English) 16m—The Peace of the Lord 16o—Agnus Dei Administration

The *Formula missae*, the *Deutsche Messe*, and the *Common Service Book* as related to the *Missale Romanum*

Missale Romanum	Formula missae (Latin) (16r—as prayer before communing)	Deutsche Messe (German)	Common Service Book (English)
16r—Domine Jesu Christi, Fili Dei 16a—Perceptio Corporis 16i—Panem coelestem 16n—Domine, non sum 16v—Corpus Domini 16w—Quid retribuam 16x—Sanguis Domini 16y—Quod ore sumpimus	Words of Administration 16v—and 16x		Words of Administration 16v—and 16x Benediction of Dismissal: The Body— Nunc Dimittis
17—Communion— (Chant-Distribution) 18—Post Communion	18—Post Communion but 16y—appointed	18—Post Communion (Invariable German Collect)	Versicle connected with 18—Post communion (Invariable Collect tr. from D. M.) 19—Salutation
19—Salutation 20—Ite, missa est or 21—Benedicamus Domino 22—Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus	21—Benedicamus with Aletia 22—Benedicat vos or Aaronitic		21—Benedicamus 22—Aaronitic

LUTHER'S LITURGICAL WRITINGS AND OTHER
WRITINGS RELATED TO OR CONTAINING
REFERENCES TO LITURGICAL MATTERS

1519

Ein sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen
wahren Leichnams Christi und von den Bruderschaften—
Tr.*

W—2: 739

C—1: 196

B—3: 259

English—2

Eine kurze Unterweisung wie man beichten soll
E—21: 244

1520

Ein sermon von dem neuen Testament d.i. von der heiligen
Messe

W—6: 349

C—1: 299

English—1

De captivitate Babylonica—Tr.

English—1

W—6: 489

C—1: 426

B—2: 375

English—2

**Abbreviations*

B—Buchwald

C—Clemen

E—Erlangen

Kl. Tx—Lietzmann Kleine Texte

W—Weimar

Wa—Walch

English—Works of Martin Luther

Tr—Translated for English Edition of Luther's Works

Daniel—Codex liturgicus

Richter—Kirchen Ordnungen

Hering—Hülfsbuch

1521

De abroganda missa privata
W—8: 398. Text 411

1522

Von beyder Gestalt des Sacraments zu nehmen
W—10: 1. Text 11
C—2: 311

Acht sermone, gepredigt zu Wittenberg in der Fasten—Tr.
W—10, Pt. 3: 1ff
B—1: 317
English—2

Das Hauptstück des ewigen neuen Testaments von dem hoch-
würdigen Sacrament beyder Gestalt
E—22: 38

Von dem Miszbrauch der Messe
B—2: 175

Betbüchlein
W—10: 331. Tx. 375

1523

Von ordenung gottis diensts ynn der gemeyne—Tr.
Jena (1558)—2: 257 f
Wa—10: 263 f
E—22: 151
W—12: 32
C—2: 424
B—7: 151
Kl. Tx.—36: 3
Daniel—2: 75
Richter—1: 1

Das Taufbüchlein verteutscht—Tr.
W—12: 38
E—22: 157
Wa—10: 2622

Wie man recht und verstaendlich einen Menschen zum
Christenglauben taufen soll—Tr.

W—12: 51

E—22: 166

De instituendis ministris Ecclesiae

W—12: 160

Formula missae et communionis pro Ecclesia Vittenbergensi
—Tr.

Witt. (1546) 2: 412 ff

Jena—2: 556

W—12: 201

C—2: 427

Kl.Tx.—36: 11

Daniel—2: 80

Richter—1: 2 f

Hering—125

Ein weyss christlich Mess zu halten—Speratus' Tr. of the
Formula

Jena—3: 269

Wa—10: 2744

1524

Ein Sermon von der Beichte und dem Sakrament. Item vom
Brauch und Bekenntniss christlicher Freiheit

W—15: 438, 481, 497

Wie man die Ceremonien der Kirchen bessern soll Ver-
deutsche Schrift an das Capite zu Wittenberg

Preface to Geystliche Gesangk Buchleyn—Tr.

W—35: 474

B—8: 3

Wa—10: 1722

1525

Ein Sermon von der höchsten Gotteslästerung, die die Pa-
pisten täglich braüchen, so sie lesen den antichristlichen
Canon in ihren Messen

W—15: 760

Von dem Greuel der Stilmesse, so man den Canon nennt

W—18: 8

Hauptstück des ewigen und neuen Testaments

Vermahnung an die Christen in Liefland vom äusserlichen Gottesdienst vnd eintracht—Tr.

E—53: 315

Wa—10: 286

Formular einer deutschen Präfation vor dem Abendmahl —Tr.

E—53: 285; 54: 30

Wa—10: 2776

1526

Sermon von dem Sacrament des Leibs und Bluts Christi wider die Schwarmgeister

Deutsche Messe vnd ordnung gottisdiensts zu Wittenberg fürgenommen—Tr.

Witt—7: 369 ff

Jena—3: 277

Wa—10: 268 f

E—22: 226

W—19: 60

B—7: 159

C—3: 294

Kl.Tx.—37

Daniel—2: 97

Richter—1: 35

Das Taufbüchlein aufs neu zugerichtet—Tr.

E—22: 290

C—3: 310

1528

Vom Abendmahl Christi Bekenntniss

W—26: 252

C—3: 352

Unterricht der Visatoren

E—23: 1

1529

Ein traubüchlein für die einfältigen Pfarrherrn—Tr.

Wa—10: 854

E—23: 207

W—30, Pt. 3: 74

C—4: 100

Latina Litanía Correcta—Tr.

Wa—10: 1761

W—30, Pt. 3: 36

Die Deutsch Litaney—Tr.

Wa—10: 1758

W—30, Pt. 3: 29

Kurze Vermahnung zur Beichte

Wa—10: 2641

E—23: 85

Ein Kurze weise zu beichten, für die einfältigen, dem
Priester—Tr.

B—3: 119

Preface to Geistliche Lieder aufs neu gebessert zu Witten-
berg—Tr.

Wa—10: 1726

W—35: 475

B—8: 7

1532

Der Segen, so man nach der Messe spricht über das Volk

W—30, Pt. 3: 572

1533

Von der Winkelmess und Pfaffenweihe

W—38: 182

C—4: 239

1534

Ein brief von seinem Buch der Winkelmesses

1535

Ordinations formular—Tr.

W—38:423 (Tr. from 1539 MS.)

1538

Ein Brief wider die Sabbather

[Unterricht der Visitatoren]

1542

Preface to Christliche geseng lateinisch vnd deutsch, zum
Begrebnis—Tr.

W—35:478

B—8:9

1544

Kurtz Bekenntniss vom heiligen Sacrament

1545

Preface to Geistliche Lieder—Tr.

Wa—10:1724

W—35:476

B—8:16

Not Dated

Ein Kurzer Unterricht für die Schwachgläubigen, wie man
sich in der Kreuzwochen mit der processionen halten soll —
(Probably 1524)

E—20:294

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P. Z. S.

CONCERNING THE ORDERING OF DIVINE
WORSHIP IN THE CONGREGATION

[VON ORDENUNG GOTTIS DIENSTS YNN
DER GEMEYNE]

1523

VON ORDENUNG GOTTIS DIENSTS YNN DER GEMEYNE

1523

INTRODUCTION

A reformation in the Cultus of the Church was bound to come with the wider dissemination and firmer adoption of Evangelical teachings. The complex of the machinery of worship of the Roman Church, voluminous, detailed, canonically ordered, methodical, mechanical, and yet so firmly imbedded in and gripping the life of the people, could not escape the opening up of the flood-gates of the Gospel with its outpouring of privilege and possibility.

Reactions resulting from these teachings were twofold. The first tendency, born of the impetuous, fostered by haste and unthinking, akin to the rebellious, and expressing itself in a desire to be rid of burden and compulsion,—misread “liberty,”—struck first at the unimportant, the periphery, and from there sought the center. The other, slow in starting, but forced by circumstances,—in which the first tendency had part,—to begin, strove to deal with the practical and fundamental at one and the same time. The latter effort had to make its way against the former.

A thoroughgoing approach to or weighing of matters involved either historically or practically was impossible. The situation must have presented itself pretty much as a confusing, almost terrifying maze,—a state of affairs one was forced to face and meet, whether one desired to or not; and the outcome had to be immediate, harmonious to the general movement, considerate of inborn prejudices and accustomed and beloved practices, and at least adequate to the immediate need. The answer had to be strong enough to stand and carry authority; broad enough to overcome prejudice; historic in its relation to the past use; living and constructive in its outlook; and withal, as true and free as the Gospel.

One really wonders at the courage with which this situation was met; one does not wonder at the hesitation and indecision so frequently evident in the way in which it was met; and one is bound to honor the spirit which produced the guiding suggestions and which continues to live in the results. The hope seemed to be: "This,—so much,—for the Now. The Future?—meet the need as it comes!" But the important part was to make the "This" the right, the fundamental, the *evangelical* beginning and yet do no outrage and cause no offense in establishing it.

Not all of the men who reached a position of more or less prominence in the early years of the Reformation Movement were blessed with ability to analyze conditions and to think things through to practical issues. To weigh; to view the manysided situation genuinely, carefully; to move slowly,—much of this is prominent by its absence! Step by step crises arise and issues are met. How much of impulse, of sudden determination, of ill-advised action, is buried behind many a writing or statement or deed!

Carlstadt, for example, flames forth as an impetuous soul bent on cleansing the Church and its cultus of all that offends, clutters and enshrouds the pure worship of God in one grand gesture. His rather suddenly instituted and far-reaching changes in the worship of the Wittenberg church probably were nothing more than the culmination of a variety of efforts at reform during the preceding year or more. All of these changes are indicative of his personal attitude and inclination, of his enthusiasm and impulsiveness. He did not show any strength in thinking things through carefully and solidly. His actions smack more of a resolve to go the limit according to his own interpretation of certain evangelical principles which had been thoroughly threshed out and firmly established. His zeal was one thing; his purpose another; and his accomplishment a third. All three combined eventuated in being one of the situations which forced Luther to enter and virtually take the lead in this particular field of activity also.

Late in 1521, another interesting personality in the Reformation drama was present at Wittenberg and more or less closely associated with Carlstadt. This was Thomas Münzer. Carlstadt's lead was not copied slavishly by Münzer, although it probably gave him the assurance he needed to

go forward with reform in the cultus on his own account. His activities in this direction appeared shortly at Zwickau and later at Alstedt.

Here was another intense spirit, zealous, purposeful, adventurous. But here, too, and in this connection oddly enough, was deep appreciation, a fine sense of the churchly and of the spirit of worship, balance and constructive conservatism. However excellent his efforts may have been, the mere fact that he was active in this connection would be enough to rouse Luther to action. And this must be considered another reason for Luther's activity in liturgical reform.

Apart from Carlstadt's efforts the years 1521 and 1522 saw definite, although tentative, steps in the direction of an "Evangelical Mass" and of a reformation of certain parts in the Roman use. A vernacular Mass was the ideal and also the objective. It was approached but slowly: possibly the farthest reach of success at first was the Consecration (strictly the Words of Institution) and Distribution in the vernacular and the reading of the Liturgical Lessons likewise in the vernacular. Then, too, the effort usually was either individual or local. Of course, someone had to make the beginning! But the feel for, and the forcing of, these things was becoming more and more pronounced and general. By the end of 1522 quite a number of towns and cities were seeing experiments in an "Evangelical Mass" carried out. Probably the most interesting of these is that of Kaspar Kantz at Nordlingen.

But Wittenberg was the center of this activity. Luther was away. Carlstadt with his dominant personality was the leader. He had already been responsible for many changes, but he finally reached the limit of radical reform when on Christmas Day he celebrated Mass in German, clothed in his street clothing. On this occasion he not only denounced confession and the customary preparation by fasting, but made a general invitation to all to come to communion, and then administered in both forms, placing the Host in the hands of the communicant and allowing him to grasp the Chalice also. Attendant ceremonies, such as the Elevation, etc., were omitted, and virtually the entire Canon was cast aside. Thus the Mass, according to Carlstadt's ideas, was made evangelical in form and in practice. This was the direct opposite to the accustomed: it was typical of

Carlstadt; no half-way measures here and quite a grand gesture! But it likewise evidenced his inability to comprehend the true objective and effectiveness of reform. To Carlstadt, "reform" meant a complete and immediate abrogation of all that was denounced as unevangelical: his objective seemed rather to be the Mass, rites, customs, than the people and their benefit. His principles made for revolution and fanned the spirits of unrest and dissatisfaction to the devouring flames of excess and revolt.

This showed itself in the excesses of Zwilling and his fellow-Augustinians which began with abrogation of daily Masses and Masses for the dead and ended with the denuding of the churches, destruction of pictures and ornaments and riotous interruption of the Mass by an easily led body of students. In the midst of these excesses Luther returned from the Wartburg; and while he may have expressed a sympathy for the general tendency at one time, his actions now are eloquent, and proof of his own attitude toward the harvest of the sowing of Carlstadt and others. Assuming the full garb of a monk, he enters the forsaken Augustinian monastery and leaves this to deliver the famous *Eight Sermons*, preached successively, in which in a manner strangely restrained for Luther he firmly gives answer to the movement and its leaders. The climax is the Mass, celebrated in the accustomed vestments and in the accustomed manner—this by Luther in the face of that turmoil!

Heretofore Luther had not hesitated to criticize in public utterances and writings, and in no unmistakable terms, the many marked abuses connected with the worship of the Church. Judging from the way in which he reacted in connection with other matters, he must, at least, have been restive at some of Carlstadt's earlier activities. But now the situation cannot be longer ignored; it is forced upon him. Strange to say, it does not bring forth a mighty trumpet blast, but quite evident hesitation. It does not seem like Luther to hold back so patiently, to act with such restraint. Could he have judged himself inadequate to the task? He was not a well versed liturgiologist; but he had both native ability and good sense; and one may well imagine that his hesitation was born of an appreciation of the tremendous difficulties involved. Matters had reached such a climax that he simply had to face the issue and express himself

definitely and formally on this very important phase of the developing Reformation Movement.

Circumstances noted above undoubtedly paved the way, but Luther's first formal statement was actually the result of a direct request for advice from the Congregation at Leisnig.

In September, 1522, Luther had been at Leisnig to confer with representatives of the congregation over regulations for the administration of their common treasury. Out of this meeting grew the formal Regulation for which Luther prepared a Preface.¹ Questions relative to their pastors arose, and in order to seek advice and proper direction, the congregation sent a deputation to Luther at Wittenberg, which laid this matter before him on January 25, 1523. At the same time they requested him "to appoint an Order for them according to which they might sing and pray." On January 29, he promised to grant this request. The *Von ordenung gottis diensts ynn der gemeyne* is the fulfillment of that promise.

Just when or how soon after the date of the promise the pamphlet,—of four quarto pages in the original print,—was written and issued is uncertain. It was between the date of the promise and Pentecost of the same year, as one of the "original" editions of this pamphlet, printed at Zwickau in this year, bears the date, "Tuesday before the holy festival of Pentecost"—May 19.

An early date in this period rests on the assumption that Luther grasped this opportunity to meet the issue forced by Carlstadt's radical changes introduced early in the year, making suggestions on his part which he thought sufficient for the immediate situation. In substantiation of this earlier date is the fact that on Monday after Judica, March 23, a simple morning devotion, modeled entirely on the suggestion in the *Von ordenung*, was instituted in the Stadtpfarrkirche.

The later date is based on the assumption that Carlstadt's reforms had not only been introduced but had also become so "popular" that there was just fear of additional and even more radical changes following. To counteract anything of this sort the Luther writing appeared, presenting his own program of what he regarded as desirable. At the same time he was able to fulfil the promise he had made to the Leisnig church.

The document, although brief, is replete with interest. The situation at Wittenberg is revealed quite plainly. Luther rightly estimated Carlstadt as rash and the ends to which he might eventually go as altogether too revolutionary. His dictum at the very beginning concerning the non-abrogation of the cultus is worthy of special emphasis; this principle remains fundamental with Luther. The summary of the chief misuses current shows where he wants the emphasis of reform placed. These together with the emphatic centralization of the Word declared a little farther along are an enunciation of the principles which guided Luther throughout all of his efforts in this particular connection.

It is not at all strange that the place of prominence in this writing is occupied by a consideration of *daily* devotional periods *in the church*. The Mass as such receives nothing more than passing attention; the "reforms" here, which had already been tried out at a number of places, are not even mentioned. The one emphatic statement is that the daily Masses are to remain discontinued; but provision must always be made to meet the desire of such as would receive Holy Communion, even if this be on a weekday! There is no objection to continuing the use of the customary singing at the Masses and at Vespers; but certain propers, which are purely legendary and unscriptural must be omitted.

But there is an extended program for the other services. Carlstadt had discontinued the daily Masses in the Wittenberg church early in 1523. After that the doors remained closed during week days, except for an occasional preaching service. It is not difficult to realize Luther's reaction to this when one begins to read the *Von ordenung*. The necessity of a daily devotion is demanded from the standpoint of read and expounded Word and congregational prayer. Purposes of worship and edification and pedagogic reasons are about equal. Hence his emphasis on these devotions; and the practical experiment was tried out in the Stadtpfarrkirche.

The simple morning service, outlined by Luther, was quite typical of the Evangelical Movement. It consisted of a lesson, and prayer (intercession). A similar daily evening or afternoon devotion was planned for early introduction, or at least when the proper person or persons to conduct it would be at hand.

For the morning devotion, which still carried the name *Matins*, New Testament scriptures were appointed for reading *and* exposition; it was proposed to use Old Testament scriptures similarly in the afternoon. The procedure suggested was to have one person do the reading and another expound; for example, reading by the scholars, exposition by the pastor. Luther was quite frank in stating his reasons for this. It would bring about the presence of the scholars at worship; it would insure their activity in it; it would familiarize them with the content of Holy Scripture; and as the lessons were still read in Latin, it would contribute various educational values. Some of the other elements of the old Hours were also retained in these new devotions: Psalms, antiphons, responsories, the last two only if "pure."

Luther's first effort at a cleansing of the Church Year is moderation itself, even including the broad abrogation of all saints' days. Here is the very atmosphere of worship, where the common man would be affected and probably easily offended, as every tradition of spiritual life would be united with contacts of these many days; and the customs connected therewith, in some cases for centuries part and parcel of the life of the common people, could not be rooted out with impunity over night. Hence the agreement to the retention of some of the Virgin Mary's days and the transference of observance of Apostles' days to the Sunday nearest. But cleansing of all of these offices must be carried out as time passes, on the basis of scriptural fitness.

Church practices are necessary to the spiritual life, but they are in transition. There is a decided feel for something else; something other than they have; something freer, simpler, more completely expressive of the richness and intimacy of the blessed, precious Gospel. This is the treasure house supreme; the crown of all devotion; the key to every life; the Magna Carta of salvation! The urge to emphasize this first, last, always, is ever present,—THE WORD! And yet, the inheritance cannot, dare not, be ignored, nor dare it be forgotten. Its imprint on spiritual life is indelible. The old is still present, loved, and cherished, and dare not be utterly cast aside because much of it is true gold, and many hearts and lives would be impoverished by its loss.

It would be a mistake to regard Luther's writing (or his later writings for that matter) as in the nature of an *ex*

cathedra statement, his position and influence notwithstanding. Such an inference would be unfair both to his principles and to his intention. He, like the matter with which he is dealing, is in a state of transition. This is his first attempt to solve some of the problems; he will meet others as they arise; so, for the time being this is his opinion and his advice.

PAUL ZELLER STRODACH

NOTE ON INTRODUCTION TO CONCERNING THE ORDERING
OF DIVINE WORSHIP IN THE CONGREGATION

* See vol. IV, p. 92ff of this edition.

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The translation has been made from the Weimar text; comparison was made with the text of the original print noted above.

P. Z. S.

VON ORDENUNG GOTTIS DIENSTS YNN
DER GEMEYNE

Doctor Martin' Lutther
Wittemberg M.D. XXiii

CONCERNING THE ORDERING OF DIVINE
WORSHIP IN THE CONGREGATION

1523

The liturgy now in common use everywhere, like the preaching office, has a high, Christian origin. But just as the preaching office has been debased and impaired by spiritual tyrants, so also the liturgy has been corrupted by the hypocrites. Now as we do not abolish the preaching office on this account but desire to restore it again to its right and proper place, so it is not our intention to discontinue the liturgy but to restore it again to proper and correct usage.

Three great and serious misuses have entered into divine worship. The first,—God's Word has been silenced, and only reading and singing remain in the churches. This is the worst misuse. The second,—When God's Word had been silenced, there entered in its stead such a host of unchristian fables and lies, both in legends, songs and sermons, that it is a thing horrible to behold. The third,—Such divine service was performed as a work whereby God's grace and salvation might be earned. The result of this was that faith disappeared and instead every one gave to churches, established foundations, and wanted to become priests, monks and nuns.

Now in order to do away with these misuses, it is necessary to know, first of all, that the Christian congregation never should assemble unless God's Word is preached and prayer is made, no matter for how brief a time this may be.

See Psalm 101:—When the king and the people assemble for God's grace, they are to proclaim God's Name and praise. And Paul in I Corinthians 14 says, that in the congregation there is to be prophesying, teaching and admonishing. Therefore where God's Word is not preached, it is better that one neither sing nor read, nor even come together.

Psalm
101: 23
I Cor.
14: 31

This was the custom among the Christians at the time of the Apostles, and should also be the custom now. We should assemble daily in the early morning, say at four or five o'clock, and have God's Word read, either by scholar or priest, or whoever it may be, in the same manner as the Lesson is still read at Matins; this should be done by one or two, or by one after the other, or by one choir after the other, as may seem most suitable.

Thereupon the preacher or whoever has been appointed, shall come forward and expound a part of the same lesson, so that all the others understand it, learn, and are admonished. The first of these Paul, in I Corinthians 14, calls speaking with tongues. The other, he calls expounding or prophesying, or speaking with the sense or understanding. And if this does not occur, the congregation is not benefitted by the lesson, as has been the case until now in cloisters and other religious foundations, where they have only wasted their breath against the walls.

I Cor.
14: 26

However, this Lesson should be taken from the Old Testament in this fashion: One of the books should be selected and a chapter or two, or half a chapter, should be read until all of it has been used. After that another book should be selected, and so on, until the entire Bible has been read through; and where one does not understand it, pass that by and glorify God. Thus through this daily use of, and training in, the Scriptures, the Christians will gain an intelligent knowledge of them and become familiar with them. For in this way, in former times, right excellent Christians were made,—virgins and martyrs,—and truly should continue to be made.

Now when the Lesson and its exposition have lasted a half hour or so, the congregation shall immediately unite in giving thanks to God, in praising Him, and in praying for

the fruits of the Word. For this purpose the Psalms should be used and some good responsories and antiphons; but this all should be brief, so that everything may be completed in an hour, or in as long a time as may be desired; for one must not overload the souls so that they become weary and bored, in the same fashion as heretofore in the cloisters and institutions, where they loaded themselves with ass' labor.

In like manner, gather again at evening around six or five. At this time the books of the Old Testament should be taken up, one after another, namely the Prophets, in the same way as the books of Moses and the Histories are taken up in the morning. But since the New Testament is a book also, I use the Old Testament in the morning and the New Testament in the evening, or *vice versa*; and read, expound, praise, sing and pray in like manner as in the morning, also for an hour. For all this is to be done for the sake of God's Word, to the end that it come into wide use and souls be uplifted and quickened and do not become careless and indifferent.

Should one desire to hold another such gathering once more during the day, after eating, this is entirely a matter of free choice.

Even if such daily services cannot be attended by the entire congregation, nevertheless the priests and the scholars and especially those whom one hopes will become good preachers and pastors should be present. And one should admonish them to perform this duty voluntarily, not of compulsion or with disinclination, or with the thought of meriting either temporal or eternal reward, but only to the glory of God and the neighbor's good.

But on Sunday such gatherings shall be appointed for the entire congregation: these in addition to the daily gatherings of the smaller number; and at these times, as has been customary heretofore, Mass and Vespers shall be sung. But these services are to be so ordered that the congregation will hear preaching on both occasions, in the morning on the customary Gospel, in the evening on the Epistle, or it may be left to the choice of the preacher whether he will select one book or two for this purpose, whichever will seem to him the most profitable.

Now if anyone desires to receive the Sacrament at this time, it is to be administered to him; this can be arranged for properly in the usual order according to the circumstance of time and person.

The daily masses are certainly to be abolished, for the importance is in the Word and not in the masses. But should some desire the Sacrament on a day other than a Sunday, Mass is to be held, as devotion and time permit; for in this connection one cannot lay down either a law or a limit.

The singing in the Sunday Masses and Vespers may be retained. These parts are quite good and taken from the Scriptures; however one may lessen or increase their number. But it shall be the duty of the pastors and preachers to appoint the songs and Psalms to be used daily, morning and evening, appointing for every morning a Psalm, a good Responsory or Antiphon and a Collect, and for the evening, reading and singing by the congregation after the Lesson and its exposition. But the antiphons and responsories and collects and legends of the Saints and of the Cross, allow these to rest quietly for a while, until they have been purified; for there is a horrible amount of dirt in these.

All saints' festivals are to be dropped, or where there is a good Christian legend, this may be added after the Gospel on Sunday as an example. But I allow the Festival of the Purification of Mary and of the Annunciation to remain; the Festivals of the Assumption and of the Nativity of Mary one must allow to remain a while longer even though the songs in them are not pure. The Festival of John the Baptist also is pure. Not one of the legends of the Apostles is pure, except St. Paul's; therefore observance of these Apostle Festivals may be transferred to the (nearest) Sundays, or if preferred, they may be specially observed.

Further matters will be met and adjusted as the need arises from time to time. But the important thing is this, that everything be done so that the Word prevails and does not once more become a clamor or whine, and rattled off mechanically as it has been heretofore. It is better to abandon everything else except the Word. And there is no better practice or exercise than the Word; and the whole

Scriptures show that this should have free course among the Christians; and Christ Himself, also, says, Luke 10,--

Luke 10: One thing is needful, namely that Mary sit at the feet of
42 Christ and hear His word daily. This is the best part, which she has chosen, and will never be taken away. It is an eternal Word; all the rest must pass away no matter how much work it gives Martha to do.

To this God help us. Amen.

FORMULA OF MASS AND COMMUNION FOR
THE CHURCH AT WITTENBERG

[FORMULA MISSAE ET COMMUNIONIS PRO
ECCLESIA WITTEMBERGENSIS]

1523

FORMULA MISSAE ET COMMUNIONIS

1523

INTRODUCTION

Nicolaus Hausmann, pastor primarius of the Marienkirche at Zwickau and a most devoted friend of Luther, had written repeatedly to him requesting advice and direction in matters connected with church worship. One of these requests had been for an order for saying mass which would conform with the principles of the movement in which they both were so deeply concerned.

Luthre had replied more or less promptly to all of Hausmann's requests except the last, and only after repeated urging by letter, through Stephen Roth, who was studying theology at Wittenberg, and through other friends did Luther meet Hausmann's hope and plea.

Luther sent Hausmann a copy of a pamphlet on another subject on November 13, 1523, and in the accompanying letter told him that he would send to him a copy of the form of mass which he proposed for the use of the Wittenberg church. This may have been ready for printing at the time of writing this letter, for a few weeks later, on December 4, Luther sent Hausmann a printed copy of the *Formula missae et communionis pro ecclesia Wittembergensi*. It reached him on December 11, and its arrival moved Hausmann to expressions of gratitude, joy, and satisfaction.

Luther inscribed this document to his cherished friend Hausmann. This was something more than a courtesy; it was an acknowledgment. Hausmann, gentle and kindly, not a leader but a faithful follower, loyal to the movement, was chief pastor of a thankless congregation located in the midst of the Münzer movement, and which showed the influence of Münzer teachings in its life.

Münzer had added a reform of the Mass and of the other services to his activities, and this had been pushed as zealously as his other interests. The effect of all this was felt in

full force at Zwickau. Loyal Hausmann not only bore the burden of the heterodox teachings of these *schwärmer* but was forced to meet the demand for a reform in the services of his own church, inspired no doubt by the example of the radicals. This he realized had to come; but he would not, could not, model it after the Münzer example; nor was he so constituted that he could take the initiative successfully; and still more, his loyalty to Luther would not permit him to undertake action without consultation with him in every important detail. Hausmann's own effort in preparing a "reformed" service had been submitted to Luther for criticism, but evidently did not meet with Luther's full approval, and probably was never used. To this he added other requests from time to time, all of which Luther answered gladly and fairly.

Toward the close of 1523, reform of the cultus in general and of the Mass in particular, was not only in the air but taking definite form at many places. Carlstadt's activities at Wittenberg, Münzer's at a number of places, and other scattered efforts representing more or less honest endeavors had served to reveal the necessity of a straightforward consideration of the whole question and also acted as a warning, that if the matter were not met by those who were in a position to advise and control, the result would be a riot of individualism and work great injury to the cause.

This forced Luther to enter this field, and some months prior to this time he had issued his first general writing on this specific subject, the *Von ordnung gottis diensts inn der gemeyne*. The position taken here, at all events, according to Luther's opinion one may imagine, was a beginning, and sufficient for the moment, since it revealed the limit to which he was ready to go at that time,—a very cautious attitude but also one ready to meet any further issue which might arise when it did arise. He said as much in this writing.

The movement for reform in cultus having grown in purpose and strength and also spread over a wider territory, and the question having demanded a detailed answer, which the *Von ordnung* did not give and never was expected to give, Luther again writes to meet the problem.

One may suppose that the very spirit, which seemed to possess his adversaries, the *schwärmer*, had an effect upon Luther in this particular situation as well. Luther's attitude

in general to the cultus of the Church was appreciative; but it also was critical and tinged with the free spirit of liberty, ready to cast away, also to make new if need be. He easily could have been both radical and revolutionary here: all seemed ready to this end. There are many assertions and denunciations in his writings and sermons to prove this. But did this self-same spirit in others, who broke with his teachings, act much as a counter-irritant and serve to hold him, purely by a sort of contrariness, to the conservative? It is not an impossible point of view!—but it is not the whole story.

Viewed by the Romanists Luther was as much a radical and rebel as was Münzer to Luther's point of view. In the latter situation the dislike was intense; and anything that Münzer might do, excellent though it might be, would suffer accordingly; *nothing* good could come from that source! Luther might regard Münzer's reform of the services as an exhibition of his destructive radicalism, but the Romanists put Luther's statements and efforts in the added class of sacrilege.

But Luther's position was the outcome of his liberty found in the Gospel, liberty safely trammelled by the Gospel; and this holy Word was the life, guide, inspiration, and norm,—not the tradition or pronouncement of the Church. Against such things as the latter he was an honest rebel; he might be revolutionary, but after all it would be the revolution of the Word rebelling against the bondage of man-made interpretation and the shackles with which man would bind it to his own purposes. Reaction would not carry Luther any farther than the Gospel would go,—even the "new" would be as old or as young as it was!

So he meets this issue in *this* spirit of liberty, and behold, he is not a revolutionary as the world defines, but a conservative, because his spirit is bound by the glorious liberty and harmony of the Word. The worshiping Church is the Church that glorifies this Word in all its grace and truth in Christ, in all its forgiving love and fellowship for man. The worshiping children of the Church are those who find their all in and take their all from the Word. When the Church or men bring and add *their* contributions to this, which do not spring from, center in, or glorify this Divine purpose, then the road away has been entered: man follows man,

seeks man, glorifies man, and not God! But when the Church or men inspired by that Word bring their gifts and add their adoring offerings that God may truly be praised by His creature and man may be led to see Him and approach Him in that praise, then the Way is broad and fair, for it is the Way of Life in God and for God.

Luther valued the traditional worship of the Church from both of these angles. On the one side, the pure and true, the ancient, that of all time, that which glorified God in His Word, that which blessed man in his approach to God, this could not, dared not, be lost; and the vehicles which carried this, whether Liturgy, rite or form, were to be treasured for the high office they performed. On the other side that which bore the mark of man self-willed and self-seeking and self-glorifying was veritable chaff, beautiful though it might be. To hold, preserve, the one was a continued blessing; to cast the other away was true gain! This is essentially the motivation of Luther's "reforming" process in matters liturgical.

Luther's *Formula missae et communionis* is the *Ordo missae*¹ of the Roman Church "reformed" according to this process. Acquaintance with the Order of the Mass is a prerequisite to a consideration of Luther's attitude and of the results of his work as they appear in the *Formula missae*.

There is something more back of a statement such as this which follows, than appears on the surface. Luther writes early in the *Formula*, "We assert, it is not now, nor has it ever been, in our mind to abolish entirely the whole formal cultus of God, but to cleanse that which is in use, which has been vitiated by most abominable additions, and to point out a pious use."

This is an extremely interesting revelation of Luther's point of view and declaration of purpose. It is not new; he had said as much some months before in the *Von ordnung*, only in other words; and what is more,—other evidence to the contrary,—he reiterates this in later years.

Back of this is the Luther of the old Church, against which he moves only in love that she may be cleansed and restored to the Divine plan and purpose. He recognizes the ancient glory of the Church's Liturgy, the heritage handed on from age to age; the helpfulness of the external in expressing the spiritual, in translating this into terms easily comprehended by the common man. And with a spirit which

treasures the real, the good, the helpful,—that which he had grown to love,—he seeks by careful, discriminating, and gentle touch to restore the ancient purity of this age-old worship. Further, he views that which the centuries have added, which conduce to true worship, as relative to this end and likewise to be continued. The standard is Christo-centric. The form, the rite, the ceremony, these are not to be cast aside if they center in Him and from there shed their rays upon the hearts of men.

In the *Formula* Luther confines his effort entirely to the Order of the Mass,—the Service for the Celebration of Holy Communion; generalizations such as those found in the *Von ordnung*, or consideration of other matters of liturgical character unless they are related specifically to the Mass find no place in this writing. This is the worship of the Church, *The Liturgy*; and it is brought into harmony with the teaching he has been inculcating; and it is primarily intended for the uplift, and, finally, for the intelligent participation of the common man. Wittenberg will test the experiment; those interested may follow and try it out likewise, or if they are better able, improve on this: there is no compulsion to follow Luther's lead. This in the face of the fact, that the many diverse attempts at ordering the Evangelical Mass brought Luther into this work, and that he stands out for a unity of practice as preeminently desirable!

The method in which Luther considers this matter is illustrative of his fundamental attitude.

He begins, after the introductory paragraphs, with a statement of our Lord's Institution and the observance of the Holy Supper under the Apostles,—“most simply, piously, and without additions.” Here is the pristine Mass,—the supposition being that it was without formal liturgy or external rite. Then he writes of the early entrance into this “observance” of certain additions,—actions or formal functions, such as prayers, psalms, kyrie, epistles, gospels, etc. Clearly this is a reference to and an acceptance of the evolution of the Liturgy of the Mass and also an acknowledgment of what man contributed to its development. But he grants such things place gladly; they are “commendable,” because they serve to holy purpose and are “pure.” Throughout he asserts the standard whereby he is judging, “ancient

purity." These things are the treasures bequeathed by the Fathers.

But there came a time when men departed from the ancient simplicity and began to change and add and build according to their own selfish purpose. It was then that the abomination entered the Temple of God: this is the highly organized Mass with all of its mechanical and ceremonial furnishings, in particular that abomination of abominations, the Canon. Man had done violence to the ancient Divine purpose and forced the man-made Mass to serve base ends. The light of the Gospel reveals all such abominations . . . "We will test all things; what is good, we will retain."

This standard of judgment is made effective immediately; for Luther proceeds to consider the *Ordo missæ* part after part, in the process of formulating the Liturgy which becomes his recommendation, eventually a formal Order of Worship, but not a new liturgy but the traditional Liturgy of the Church simplified, purified, *restored*.

In utter silence Luther passes by the *Preparation of the Priest*,² which precedes the *Introit* in the *Ordo*. This means rejection; for it could not by any chance pass muster with its evident tinge of sacerdotalism; further it did not measure up to the standard of antiquity.

Then, starting with the *Introit* and going as far as the beginning of the *Canon*, Luther considers every step in the progress of the *Ordo* individually, subjecting these one after the other, to the test of the principles which he had laid down, and commenting upon them accordingly.

The proper *Introits* for Lord's Days and the Greater Festivals are agreeable and therefore continued. These were scriptural. But preference is expressed for the use of the entire Psalm,—(this was the original use of the ancient Church),—from which the *Introits* were developed.

Here some comments relative to the Church Year enter. A strong desire to get away from and to simplify the multiplicity of observances due to the many saints' days and to centralize all worship in the great Center of all, Christ, is evident in the method observed at Wittenberg. "If there is anything worthy in them (the saints' days) we think they should be referred to in the Lord's Day preaching." This is quite a departure from the customary liturgical "commemoration." Further such Festivals of the Virgin as the

Purification and the Annunciation are observed as Festivals of Christ. Another interesting and centralizing use, which also tends to greater simplification, is suggested in repeating the Nativity propers on the Days of St. Stephen and St. John, which follow immediately in the Christmas Octave, instead of the customary propers of those Days. But this is suggestion only, not rule; and one must regard the sensibilities of those to whom great and sudden changes in observances to which they have been long accustomed might be harmful, lest they be offended thereby and their spirit of, and joy in, worship be disturbed. However, observances which are purely of human invention are abrogated without ceremony.

The *Kyrie*, according to its customary use and melodies and much beloved by the common people, and the *Gloria in excelsis* are continued. The latter is to be used uninterruptedly throughout the Church Year, although the "bishop" is free to interrupt its use at certain times as in the past. The proper *Collect*, "if it is pious," is preserved, but other "commemorations" are discontinued at this place.

The liturgical lessons, the *Epistles* and the *Gospels*, while satisfactory to a certain degree, seem to present some difficulties to Luther, even while he favors their continuance. There should be some revision here sometime, in order to emphasize "faith" and get away from the predominating, present emphasis on "works." The hope is that this will come in the future when the Mass shall be celebrated entirely in the vernacular; meanwhile vernacular preaching safeguards the situation.

Luther favors the retention of the simple *Gradual* and the *Alleluia* in connection with these liturgical lessons. The longer Graduals or Tracts are to be discontinued; nor are there to be ceremonial variations here, such as in themselves distinguish one day from another or one season from another. The idea seems to be to have uniform rites—a uniform service . . . Liturgy . . . except for the varying major propers,—throughout the entire year. Here again is another contribution toward simplification, and once more the emphasis is laid on the reason, pure worship and edification. Ceremonial accompaniment to the reading of the Gospel, lights and incense, is left free.

Following the *Gospel* comes the *Nicene Creed*. This "is

not displeasing." The *Sermon* may then follow here, or it may precede the *Introit*. Over against the former place, which is historic, Luther favors the innovation of *Sermon* before *Mass*, because the "Gospel is the voice calling in the wilderness and bidding unbelievers to faith."

Up to this point in the *Mass*, i.e., the *Sermon* after the *Creed*, complete freedom prevails. This is the "human" contribution!—but one unto edification; it is not binding. The further progress, the celebration itself, centers in the Divine Institution. Here, too, the ancient distinction between the *Missa catechumenorum* and the *Missa fidelium* is unconsciously shown.

The first emphatic outburst against any part of the *Ordo* comes on reaching the *Offertory*. Now follows "that complete abomination";—"everything sounds and reeks of oblation." The *Offertory* and the entire *Canon* are repudiated. According to Luther's principles this could not be otherwise; but observe how Luther proceeds to winnow and preserve what he judges pure and ancient and to be centered in the one and all important tradition, the Divine Institution.

Before he writes of this in detail he notes directions concerning the *Preparation of the Elements*, which is to take place during the *Creed* or after the *Sermon*. Connected with this is a short discussion on whether the wine should be mixed with water or be used pure. Luther's inclination is to use pure wine and he states his reasons. But this, however, seems to be a rather hesitating break with ancient custom and tradition.

Then follows the Order of the Communion Office proper. The *Salutation*, *Sursum corda* and *Vere dignum* remain, but the *Proper Preface* is omitted. Immediately after the *Vere dignum* come the *Words of Institution*. These are quoted according to the Gospel (Vulgate) and not according to the *Missale Romanum*. After the *Verba* the *Sanctus* is sung, and at the *Benedictus qui venit* the Bread and Chalice are elevated. This, the *Elevation*, is retained "chiefly on account of the infirm who might be greatly offended by the sudden change." Specifically, the *Verba* are the *Consecration*; although their immediate union with the *Preface* can be interpreted as making the *Eucharistic Thanksgiving* and the *Verba* the form of consecration. The *Lord's Prayer*, introduced by the customary *Introduction*, is then prayed;

but the *Embolism* and the *Fraction* and *Commixture* and the incidental signings with the Cross are to be omitted. The *Pax* is said immediately after the *Lord's Prayer* by the bishop facing the people, as in ancient times; for the *Pax* is "the Gospel voice announcing remission of sins." This interpretation permits the deduction, that the *Pax* acts as the absolution prior to communion.

Agnus dei is then sung; the while the bishop communicates himself first, then the people. Preceding the *Administration*, the celebrant may say one of the ancient prayers of the Mass (first words quoted) but the pronoun referring to the celebrant is to be made plural referring to all communicants. At the Distribution, the ancient *Form of Administration* is preserved; but this likewise is to have the plural pronoun.

In concluding the Office the customary *Communion* (chant) may be sung if the bishop desires, but the varying *Post Communion* (Collect) is displaced by two collects of the Mass, the latter having the complete *Termination*. Mass is then concluded with the *Salutation*, *Benedicamus* with *Alleluia* and the customary *Benediction*. Variant forms of this last, which may be used, are the Aaronitic Benediction and one composed of Psalm verses.

This is Luther's simplified, purified Order of the Mass and Communion.

The departures from the current Roman *Ordo* are comparatively few; probably not as many as one might be led to expect; but those that are made are positive and all-important. The accumulated mists and clouds are driven away to reveal the *Sacrament* for *You* surrounded with thanksgiving, adoration, prayer, and final thanksgiving and benediction.

It is to be noted that Luther's effort is not centered in either destruction or construction. Some may say "Destruction" when his determined action at the *Offertory* and the *Canon* is met; others may say "Construction" when they point to a changing about of certain integral parts of the original structure. But neither of these entered into the situation as primary or as definite purposes later on. Luther did not have any desire to construct a new Liturgy; such a thing was utterly out of harmony with both his spirit and feeling. His *Formula* is the Roman *Ordo* simplified, purified, reformed,—and he felt he had every right to do just

this, for it was the *Church's* expression that he was seeking, not the *Roman Church's*. And his confessed, purposeful trend backward to the purity of ancient uses is the triumphant forward going of the living Gospel into the lives of men, carrying the guarantees of faith's union with the ever-present, living Christ. It is sacramental and sacrificial; but sacrificial in the spirit of pure devotion, not in the Roman sense; what there is of sacrifice is the prayer, praise, and thanksgiving of man to the Dispenser of the Sacramental Gift. Luther held himself strictly to this, --to glorify Christ and make him the triumphant All-in-all and to bring to man the blessed privilege of joyful communion with Him in His instituted action for this end. That the Liturgy which was theirs met this purpose, he demonstrated; for is not the Liturgy one of the most practical expressions of doctrine? That it could be thus demonstrated solved the problem of worship itself and saved the situation among people who were not ready for the introduction of innovations of his proposing,--provided he was disposed so to do!--in order to replace customs he condemned.

Naturally Luther viewed the Liturgy only from his point of view,--not as a liturgical document;--it must be the vital expression of faith and its approach; it dare not be mere form or rite or even a "spiritual" mechanism. Here he faced the building which the worship-spirit of the Church had erected through the ages, mighty in its accumulated deposits, mighty in its well-nigh world-wide use. He faced a structure built age after age into a harmony and unity which it would be folly to disturb save to preserve it and express it in a better, purer way than men were now expressing it. Could this be done? Could this be made to express again what the Church had lovingly, joyfully confessed therein . . . the pure teaching of the Gospel? His *Formula* is his attempt to demonstrate that it can be done; and in doing so, he also sought to preserve the unity and harmony of the structure even though at times he leaves but the barest framework.

This is particularly true at the *Consecration*, where his reaction is most marked and his hand falls the heaviest. Did he follow blindly the formula ascribed to St. Augustine, "The Word is added to the Element and makes the Sacrament," and then accept the dictum of Pope Gregory that the *Consecration* is effected by and in the *Verba*? At all

events, to Luther the *Verba* alone are all that is required to "consecrate" the Elements for *communion* and to "validate" the Sacrament to the response of the believing Church to her Lord's "This do." Further, this much, and perhaps, this much only, is Apostolic!

That uncertainty of just what to do here existed in his mind seems to be borne out by the transference of the *Sanctus* to a place *after* the *Verba* and by the paring down of the *Preface* to the barest possible introduction to the *Verba*; for introduction it is more than eucharistic thanksgiving. Yet he seems to feel that this "action" is formal, ceremonial in the highest, purest sense, on the part of the believing Church; not in the sense of a magnificent celebration but in the sense of profound adoration in all humble simplicity of communion with the Lord. The *innigkeit* of the spiritual, the personal,—believing and joyful,—is seeking expression here, and yet he strives to clothe this historically! Something must take the place of the abhorred *Canon*!

The problem was more than difficult; it was one that held grave dangers,—because of Luther's utter abomination of the *Canon*; and again one is astonished to find that the determined swing away from the accustomed, inspired by such deep-set, conscientious and at times violently expressed feelings and opinions, has left as much remaining as this which is still preserved in his *Formula*!

That this is so was not because Luther feared or hesitated to change, but because he recognized dangers into which false moves would lead immediately. The greatest safety-check, next to the all-inspiring, all-controlling Word, remained sure and true: Luther still felt the reality of the historic Church,—the Church of all ages, Christ's Church, his Church, *not* the Roman!

After the outline of the Mass has been completed, Luther considers a number of practical matters related to its celebration. First comes the method of consecrating and receiving the species; whether both elements are to be consecrated at once and administered, or the one element consecrated and administered immediately and then the other element,—“after which manner Christ seems to have acted,”—is left as a matter of individual choice.

Then there is a careful discussion of rites and ceremonies. The one thing indispensable is the “Words of Consecration

uncorrupted;" other matters are wholly free and may be changed at will! But all such things may be observed voluntarily; they dare not be made a law or be required as established indispensable forms. The Ancient Church affords the true example here. Luther even goes so far as to say that "if they have appointed something as a law in this matter, it shall not be observed." Nor are others to be judged when their rites differ from ours; each may abound in his own opinion, but each must strive to understand the other and yield to him in that understanding. The external rite does not commend us to God, but the inner unity of faith and love does!

Use of the customary Mass vestments is left free, with the caution that "pomph and excess of splendor be absent." If used, these vestments are not to be "consecrated" in the former ritualistic fashion, but they may be blessed "by that general benediction, by which it is taught that every good creature of God is sanctified through word and prayer." This last established a new principle of practice in the Church of the Reformation; over against the perfunctory ceremonialism of Rome is placed the Evangelic benediction in its simplicity and spirituality.

With this the major portion of the writing ends; the concluding part carries the title "Concerning the Communion of the People" and discusses a variety of practical matters, most of which are related to the celebration of the Holy Supper.

Private masses are to be discontinued; a celebration is not to be held without communicants: this would be as ridiculous as preaching the Gospel without a congregation present, to the rocks and trees and empty air!

Notification of intention to commune is required. The reason for this is something more than good order; for the bishop or ministrant is to use this opportunity to inquire into the prospective communicants' knowledge and understanding of what he desires to do and as to his fitness to do so. Should he not give satisfactory evidence of this he is to be excluded; and while moral conditions must be considered he is not to be excluded if he shows repentance; for the Holy Supper is for just such as these.

Continuance or discontinuance of Private Confession is left to the decision of the bishop; and the customary rule of preparation by fasting and prayer is to be considered a

matter of liberty. The inner spirit longing for the blessing, the repentant spirit seeking consolation and strength, these are far more vital and necessary. These suggestions relative to a pastoral, personal ministration are a complete turn away from the old, formal, definitely ordered requirements, and they emphasize the intimate, helpful contact which is to obtain between pastor and communicant. It is now to be soul-cure under the ministration of the blessed Gospel of the forgiving, welcoming Christ, not a hair-splitting, soul-burdening, penitential system.

Luther then discusses the question of the administration of both forms, i.e., the elements, in his own typical way and at quite some length. Both forms are to be administered. It is not a matter of argument, but of the Scripture; nor is this to be postponed any longer. One is not to wait for a council to determine this matter; it has been determined by highest Authority. And if men will not accede to that, and must wait for the decree of a council, thus preferring and honoring the opinion of man more than the Divine instruction, then the council is to be ignored. And then under such circumstances should the council say, "Both forms," then we will use one! But the authority of the Word is supreme, and therefore there is no necessity to wait longer or require man's opinion.

The question of celebrating Mass in the vernacular arises only incidentally in this document; there are no definite expressions, save a hope expressed, interjected in passing. At one place vernacular preaching is mentioned, and here vernacular songs. Apparently Latin continues to be the language of the Mass. Of course the hope is to have Mass, all services, in the language of the people in order that all may know and understand in what they are engaging. An important change such as this could not be hurried nor accomplished quickly. Luther realized, probably better than many others, how much was needed to this end. Here he writes of singing vernacular songs after certain Latin parts of the Mass. This is to be done by the congregation; and certain well-known hymns are suggested. Such as these must serve until gifted poets could provide others. This, too, would have to serve as a beginning; it was, at least, a promise of what was to come in fuller measure in time.

Luther recognized outstanding educational values in the

services, in addition to the spiritual. He recommended the continuance of the Daily Hours, in particular Matins and Vespers, because these afforded excellent opportunity for the active participation of the youth, especially the boys. They were to read the Lessons and the Psalter, and to sing the Orders as well. But here again matters were to be simplified; the bishop is to be responsible for the needed weekly appointments.

The *Formula* is then brought to a close with a personal word to Hausmann.

The *Formula* is the most important of the three documents dealing with Divine Worship which Luther issued. It carried weight, coming from him, which no other document of similar purpose could equal; and its influence was far-reaching, continuing even after the appearance of the very popular *Deutsche Messe*. Its historicity and conservative spirit in themselves served to check the marked tendency to looseness and a complete break with the past. It had its defects, but it had its outstanding accomplishments; and it revealed Luther as a quiet, appreciative workman, holding his strong feelings well in check and not permitting them to wreck the beauties of the heritage which belonged to all by biased or intemperate action. It will ever remain a silent witness to the positive claim of the Church of the Reformation,—that the Movement was not to institute a new Church, but was a consecrated cleansing and reforming of the Church—a continuance of the pure and true! Here, through his pen, the historic past continued to live in the present.

Hausmann soon expressed the wish that this *Formula*, which had been published in Latin only, might be available in German also. Luther commissioned Paul Speratus to translate it. This translation appeared in the course of a few months, and was accepted as the authorized German version of this important document. Almost at the same time a second translation, this one anonymous, was issued by a Nürnberg press. Allowing for the difference in the personalities of the translators, the two German texts are very close to the original. These texts are important to any student of the *Formula* in that the translation will many times be interpretative of the Latin.

It was to be expected that the opposition, Rome, would

not remain silent over this proposal of Luther. Emser was the first to attempt a reply, and issued his pamphlet in 1524. This was typical both of Emser's spirit and methods. The second reply was a well prepared and well written pamphlet by Clichtoveus; this appeared in 1526. Neither of these writers admitted any principle of Luther to be correct or that his motive or purpose was devout and honest. Rome could not admit any of this without betraying her own position and admitting the truth of the assertions of the leaders in the Reformation Movement.

The example and influence of the *Formula* live in the *Common Service Book* of the Lutheran Church in America today.⁴

The translation has been made from an original print, the property of the writer. Constant reference was made to the texts appearing in the original Jena edition and in the Weimar edition, and to originals of the German translations also in the writer's library.

PAUL ZELLER STRODACH

NOTES ON INTRODUCTION TO FORMULA OF MASS AND
COMMUNION FOR THE CHURCH AT WITTENBERG

¹ Cf. the General Introduction, this volume, p. 37ff, where a comparative table of the Roman Mass, the *Formula*, the *Deutsche Messe* and The Liturgy of the *Common Service Book* appears.

² See the General Introduction, this volume, p. 37; and below p. 86.

³ See below, pp. 88, 89; cf. this vol. p. 124.

⁴ See General Introduction, this volume, p. 35.

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P. Z. S.

FORMULA MISSAE ET COMMUNIONIS
PRO ECCLESIA WITTEMBERGENSIS
VENERABILI
IN CHRISTO D. NICOLAO HAUSMAN
EPISCOPO CYGNEAE ECCLESIAE
IN CHRISTO SANCTO
MART. LUTHER

FORMULA OF MASS AND COMMUNION
FOR THE CHURCH AT WITTENBERG

By Martin Luther
Wittenberg
MDXXIII*

To the Venerable
in Christ D. Nicholas Hausman
Bishop of the Church at Zwickau
in Christ blessed.
Mart. Luther.

Grace and peace in Christ he wishes (him). Thus far I have tried by means of books and sermons among the people to call their hearts away from godless opinions of ceremonies, thinking I would be doing something Christian and salutary if I would be the cause whereby the abomination, which Satan has set up in the holy place through the man of sin, might be removed without violence. Therefore,

* So title page of original print.

I have undertaken nothing either by force or command; nor have I changed old things for new, always being hesitant and fearful on account of those souls weak in the faith from whom the old and accustomed is not to be taken away suddenly or among whom a new and untried method of worshipping God is to be introduced; and especially on account of those light and fastidious spirits who, without faith, without reason, like unclean swine, rush wildly about and rejoice only in the novel, and as soon as the novelty has worn off forthwith become disgusted with it. A species of men than whom, as in other things, nothing is more troublesome than their sort; so, too, in sacred things they are most troublesome and intolerable. Nevertheless, even though I am moved with wrath, I am compelled to suffer them unless I would desire to have the Gospel itself taken away from the public.

But now since there is hope that the hearts of many have been enlightened and strengthened by the grace of God, and since the matter itself demands that the scandals be removed from the Kingdom of Christ, something must be dared in the name of Christ. For it is right that we provide for the few, lest while we fear constantly the levity and abuse of some others we provide for none at all, and while we wish to guard against the future scandals of such as these, we strengthen all of their abominations. Therefore, most excellent Nicolas, since you have requested it so frequently, we will busy ourself concerning some pious form of saying mass^a (as they say) and of administering communion. And thus will we do: we will no longer rule hearts by word of doctrine only, but we will put our hand to it also, and make that effective in the public administration; nevertheless, prejudicing no one, nor forbidding any one to embrace or follow some other method. Indeed we beg through Christ, from the heart, if something better shall be revealed to those who are in advance of us in these things, that they command us to be silent so that by common work we may aid the common cause.^b

In the first place we assert, it is not now, nor has it ever been, in our mind to abolish entirely the whole formal cultus^c

of God, but to cleanse that which is in use, which has been vitiated by most abominable additions, and to point out a pious use⁴. For this cannot be denied, that masses and the communion of bread and wine are a rite divinely instituted by Christ, which was observed, first under Christ Himself, then under the apostles, most simply and piously and without any additions.⁵ But so many human inventions have been added to it in course of time, that nothing of the mass and communion has come down to our age except the name.

Now the additions of the early fathers, who are said to have prayed one or two psalms in a subdued voice before blessing the bread and wine, were commendable: such Athanasius⁶ and Cyprian⁷ were thought to have been. Then they who added *Kyrie Eleison*⁸, these also pleased; for we read that under Basil the Great⁹ *Kyrie Eleison* was in public use by the whole people. Now the reading of the *Epistles* and *Gospels*¹⁰ was and is necessary, unless it be a fault to read them in a language which is not understood by the common people. Afterward when chanting began, the psalms were changed into the *Introit*:¹¹ then the Angelic Hymn was added, the *Gloria in excelsis et in terra pax*;¹² also the *Graduals*¹³ and *Alleluia*¹⁴ and *Nicene Creed*¹⁵, the *Sanctus*¹⁶, *Agnus dei*¹⁷ and *Communio*.¹⁸ All these are such as cannot be censured, especially those which are sung as *de tempore* or Lord's Day uses¹⁹. These days only testify to ancient purity,²⁰ the Canon²¹ excepted.

But when there was license to add and to change as it suited anyone, then because of the tyranny of avarice and sacerdotal ambition, those altars and images of Baal and all gods began to be placed in the temple of the Lord by our impious kings, that is, the bishops and pastors (shepherds): Here impious Ahaz took away the brazen altar and erected another brought from Damascus. But I am speaking about the Canon, that mangled and abominable thing gathered from much filth and scum.²² Then the Mass began to be a sacrifice; the Offertories²³ and paid for prayers²⁴ were added; then Sequences and Proses were inserted in the *Sanctus* and the *Gloria in excelsis*.²⁵ Then the Mass began to be a priestly monopoly, exhausting the wealth of the whole

II Kings
16: 10ff

world, deluging the whole earth like a vast desert with rich, lazy, powerful and lascivious celebrates. Then came masses for the dead, for travelers, for riches, and who can name the titles alone for which the Mass was made a sacrifice?

Nor do they cease to add to the Canon today: now it is for these feasts, then for others; now these *actiones*, then other *communicantes* are approved.⁸⁸ And I will keep quiet about the *memores*,⁸⁹ the commemoration of the living and of the dead, not yet brought to its end. And what shall I say of the external additions, vestments, vessels, candles, palls; then the organ and everything musical; images? There is scarcely one of the handicrafts in all the world, which does not contribute a great part of its activity to, and derive its gain from, the Mass.⁹⁰

Therefore, let these be passed by, and also let them pass,—all such abominations being revealed by the Gospel, —until they be entirely abolished. In the meanwhile we will test all things; what is good, we will retain. But in this book we omit saying that the Mass is (not)⁹¹ a sacrifice or a good work, because we have taught about it sufficiently at other places.⁹² We accept it as Sacrament, or Testament, or Blessing as in Latin, or Eucharist as in Greek, or the Table of the Lord, or the Lord's Supper, or the Lord's Memorial, or Communion, or by whatever pious name you please, so long as it be not polluted by the name of sacrifice or work; and we will set forth the rite according to which, as it seems to us, it should be used.

I Thess.
5: 21

In the first place, we approve and preserve the introits⁹³ for the Lord's Day and for the Festivals of Christ, such as Easter, Pentecost, Nativity, although we prefer the Psalms from which they were taken as of old;⁹⁴ but now we agree to the received usage. But if any desire to approve the introits for Apostles' Days, for Feasts of the Virgin⁹⁵ and of other saints, we do not condemn this, if they have been chosen from Psalms and other Scriptures. We, of Wittenberg, seek to celebrate only on Lord's Days and on Festivals of the Lord, abrogating completely the festivals of all of the saints; or if there is anything worthy in them we think they should be referred to in the Lord's Day preaching. We

regard the Festivals of the Purification and of the Annunciation³⁴ as Festivals of Christ, like the Epiphany and the Circumcision. In place of the Festivals of St. Stephen³⁵ and of St. John, the Evangelist,³⁶ it pleases us to use the office of the Nativity.³⁷ Let the Festivals of the Holy Cross³⁸ be anathema.³⁹ Let others act according to their own consciences, or according to the infirmity of others,—whatever the Spirit may suggest.

In the second place, we accept *Kyrie Eleison*⁴⁰ as it has been used customarily, with the various melodies for the different seasons, together with the Angelic Hymn, *Gloria in excelsis*, which follows; nevertheless its use rests on the judgment of the bishop, or, how often he desires its omission.⁴¹

In the third place, the *Oratio* (prayer), or Collect⁴² which follows, if it is pious, (and those appointed for the Lord's Days usually are), should be preserved in its accustomed use; but there should be but one.⁴³ After this the *Epistle* lesson.⁴⁴ Certainly the time has not yet come to attempt revision here, as nothing ungodly is read. But something seems to be needed, since those parts of the Epistles of Paul in which faith is taught are rarely read, but most frequently those parts dealing with morals and exhortations. While the originator of the Epistles seems to have been a singularly unlearned and superstitious friend of works, the office required the rather that, for the greater part, those sections in which faith in Christ is taught, be appointed. This certainly may be seen more frequently in the Gospels,⁴⁵ whoever has been the originator of those lessons.⁴⁶ But in the meantime vernacular preaching will supply this lack.⁴⁷ If it shall come to pass in the future that Mass shall be celebrated in the vernacular⁴⁸ (which may Christ grant!), attention must be given so that Epistles and Gospels, chosen from the best and more weighty parts of these writings, be read in the Mass.

In the fourth place, the *Gradual*⁴⁹ of two verses, likewise with the *Alleluia*,⁵⁰ or both, should be sung as the bishop decides. But the Quadragesima Graduals⁵¹ and the like, which are longer than two verses, any one who wishes may sing

these in his own home. In church, we do not wish to extinguish the spirit of the faithful with tedious things. It is not fitting to distinguish the Quadragesima,⁶⁰ or the Greater Week,⁶¹ or the Feria Sexta,⁶² with rites other than those customary elsewhere,⁶³ lest we seem to banter and ridicule Christ further with half a mass⁶⁴ and the one part of the Sacrament. For *Alleluia* is the perpetual voice of the Church, just as the memorial of His (Christ's) passion and victory is perpetual.⁶⁵

In the fifth place, we allow no *Sequences* or *Proses*,⁶⁶ unless it please the bishop to use the short one for⁶⁷ the Nativity of Christ, *Grates nunc omnes*.⁶⁸ Nor are there hardly any which are redolent of the Spirit save those of⁶⁹ the Holy Spirit: *Sancti Spiritus*⁷⁰ and *Veni Sancte Spiritus*,⁷¹ which one may sing after breakfast or at Vespers or at Mass (if the bishop pleases).

In the sixth place, the *Gospel* lection⁷² follows, where we prohibit neither candles nor censuring.⁷³ But we do not demand this; let this be free.

In the seventh place, the custom of singing the Nicene Creed⁷⁴ is not displeasing. Likewise concerning vernacular preaching,⁷⁵ we are of the opinion that it does not matter whether this is done after the *Symbolum* or before the Introit of the Mass, although there is a reason why it might be more aptly done before Mass,⁷⁶ because the Gospel is the voice calling in the wilderness and bidding unbelievers to faith.

The Mass indeed should be the use of the Gospel and also the Communion of the Table of the Lord, which certainly belongs to the faithful⁷⁷ and is fitting to be celebrated privately;⁷⁸ but nevertheless that reason does not bind us who are free, especially because all things which are done in the Mass up to the *Symbolum* are ours and are free, not exacted by God, on which account they do not necessarily pertain to the Mass.

In the eighth place, there follows that complete abomination, into the service of which all that precedes in the Mass has been forced, whence it is called *Offertorium*,⁷⁹ and on account of which nearly everything sounds and reeks of oblation.⁸⁰ In the midst of these things those words of life

and salvationⁿ have been placed, just like in times past the ark of the Lord was placed in the temple of idols next to I Sam. 5: 2ff
Dagon. And there is no Israelite there who is able either to approach or lead back the ark, until it has made its I Sam. 5: 12
enemies infamous, smiting them on the back with eternal shame, and has compelled them to send it away, which is a parable for the present time. Therefore repudiating all those things which smack of sacrifice and of the Offertory, together with the entire *Canon*,ⁿ let us retain those things Cf. Phil 4: 8
which are pure and holy, and then we will order our Mass in this fashion.

I. During the Creed or after the Canon,ⁿ let bread and wine be prepared in the customary way for consecration. Except that I am not yet fixed in my mind as to whether or not water should be mixed with the wine,ⁿ although I rather incline to the preparation of pure wine, because the indication strikes me as wrong which Isaiah advances in chapter I, "Your wine," he says, "is mixed with water." For Is. 1: 22
pure wine symbolizes beautifully the purity of the teaching of the Gospel. Then, too, nothing has been poured out for us save the blood of Christ only, unmixed with ours, of which we make commemoration here. Neither can the dream of those stand who say that our union with Christ is here symbolized, the commemoration of which union we do not make here. Nor are we united before the shedding of His blood, otherwise at the same time we would be celebrating the pouring out of our own blood with the blood of Christ for ourselves. Nevertheless in opposition to liberty, I will not introduce a superstitious law. Christ will not care very much about this, nor are these matters worthy of contention. Enough foolish contention over this has been engaged in by the Roman and Greek Churchesⁿ as also in many other matters. And because some assert that blood and water John 19: 34
flowed from the side of Christ, that does not prove anything. For that water signifies something other than what they wish to be signified by that mixed water. Nor was that mixed with the blood. Moreover the figure proves nothing, and the example does not stand; hence as a human invention it is held to be free."

II. The bread and the wine having been prepared, then let the order be in this manner:⁷⁷ The Lord be with you. Response: And with thy spirit. Lift up (your) hearts.⁷⁸ Response: Let us lift them⁷⁹ to the Lord. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God. Response: It is meet and right.⁸⁰ It is truly meet and right, just and salutary for us to give thanks to Thee always and everywhere, Holy Lord, Father Almighty, Eternal God, through Christ our Lord.

III. Then.⁸¹ . . . Who the day before⁸² He suffered took bread, giving thanks, broke and gave to His disciples, saying, Take, eat. This is my body, which is given for you.

Similarly also the cup, after He supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood which is poured out for you and for many in remission of sins. As often as ye shall do this, do it in memory of me.⁸³

I wish these words of Christ, allowing a moderate pause after the Preface, to be recited in the same tone of voice⁸⁴ in which the Lord's Prayer is sung at another place in the Canon;⁸⁵ so that it will be possible for those standing by to hear, although in all these things liberty is allowed to pious minds to recite these words either silently⁸⁶ or audibly.⁸⁷

IV. The Consecration⁸⁸ ended, let the choir sing the Sanctus,⁸⁹ and when the Benedictus⁹⁰ is sung, let the bread and chalice be elevated⁹¹ according to the rite in use up to this time, chiefly on account of the infirm who might be greatly offended by the sudden change in this more noted rite in the Mass, especially where they have been taught through vernacular sermons what is sought by this elevation.⁹²

V. After this the Lord's Prayer⁹³ is read. Thus: Let us pray: Taught by thy saving precepts, etc.,⁹⁴ omitting the prayer following: Deliver us, we beseech,⁹⁵ with all signs,⁹⁶ which they were wont to make over the host⁹⁷ and with the host over the chalice;⁹⁸ nor shall the host be broken⁹⁹ or mixed in the chalice.¹⁰⁰ But immediately after the Lord's Prayer shall be said, The Peace of the Lord, etc.,¹⁰¹ which is, so to speak, a public absolution of the sins of the communicants, truly the Gospel voice announcing remission of sins, the one and most worthy preparation for the Lord's Table, if it be apprehended by faith and not otherwise than though

it came forth from the mouth of Christ Himself. On account of this I wish it to be announced with face turned to the people,¹⁰⁰ as the bishops were accustomed to do, which is the sole vestige of the ancient bishops left among our bishops.

VI. Then let him communicate himself first,¹⁰¹ then the people; in the meanwhile let the *Agnus dei*¹⁰² be sung. But if he should desire to pray the prayer, O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who according to the will of the Father, etc.,¹⁰³ before communing, he will not pray wrongly, only change the singular number to the plural, *ours* and *us* for *mine* and *me*. Likewise the prayer, The Body of the Lord, etc., guard *my* soul, or *thy* soul unto life eternal. And the Blood, of *our* Lord, guard *thy* soul unto life eternal.¹⁰⁴

VII. If he desires to sing the Communion¹⁰⁵ let it be sung. But in place of the *ad complendam* or final collect¹⁰⁶ which so frequently savors of sacrifice, let this prayer be read in the same tone: What we have taken with the mouth, O Lord.¹⁰⁷ This one also may be read: Thy Body, O Lord, which we have received, etc.,¹⁰⁸ changing to the plural number. Who livest and reignest, etc.¹⁰⁹ The Lord be with you,¹¹⁰ etc. In place of the *Ite missa*,¹¹¹ let *Benedicamus domino*¹¹² be said, adding Alleluia¹¹³ according to its own melodies where and when it is desired; or *Benedicamus* may be borrowed from Vespers.¹¹⁴

VIII. Let the customary Benediction¹¹⁵ be given. Or take that from Numbers 6,¹¹⁶ which the Lord Himself ar-
*anged and ordered:*¹¹⁷ *The Lord bless us and guard us: May*
He show us His face and be merciful to us; The Lord turn
His face to us and give us peace. Or that in Psalm 96,
May God, our God, bless us: May God bless us and all the
ends of the earth fear Him. Amen. I believe Christ used
 something of this kind when, ascending into heaven, He
 blessed His disciples.

And this, too, should be free to the bishop, namely, by what order he may desire either to receive or to administer both species. For assuredly he may consecrate both bread and wine consecutively before he receives the bread; or between the consecration of the bread and wine he may communicate with the bread both himself and as many as desire it, and

Nu. 6:
24f

Psalm 67:
7-8 (951)

Lulce
24: 51

thereupon consecrate the wine and at length give to all to drink of it. After which manner Christ seems to have acted, as the words of the Gospel reveal, where He commanded to eat the bread before He blessed the cup. Then is said expressly: Likewise also the cup after He supped. Thus you perceive the cup was blessed only after eating the bread.²⁸⁰ But this quite new rite will not permit the doing of those things following the Consecration about which we spoke above, unless they should be changed.²⁸¹

Luke

22: 20

I Cor.

11: 25

This is the way we think about the Mass, but at the same time taking care in all such matters lest we make binding things which are free, or compel those to sin who either would do some other thing or omit certain things; only let them keep the Words of Consecration uncorrupted, and let them do this in faith. For these should be the usages of

Gal. 4: 31

Christians, that is of children of the free woman, who observe these things voluntarily and from the heart, changing them as often as and in whatever manner they might wish. Wherefore it is not right that one should either require or establish some indispensable form as a law in this matter, by which he might ensnare or vex consciences. Whence also we find no complete example of this use in the ancient fathers and in the primitive Church, save only in the Roman Church. But if they have appointed something as a law in this matter, it should not be observed; because these things neither can nor should be bound by laws. Then, even if different people make use of different rites, let no one either judge or despise the other; but let each one abound in his own opinion, and let them understand and know even if they do differently; and let each one's rite be agreeable to the other, lest diverse opinions and sects yield diverse uses, just as happened in the Roman Church. For external rites, even if we are not able to do without them,—just as we cannot

I Cor. 8: 3

Rom.

14: 17

do without food and drink,—nevertheless, do not commend us to God, just as food does not commend us to God. But faith and love commend us to God. Wherefore let this word of Paul govern here: The kingdom of God is not food and drink, but righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy

Spirit. Thus no rite is the Kingdom of God, but faith within you, etc.¹²³

We have passed by vestments.¹²³ But we think about these as we do about other uses; we permit them to be used without restraint, only let pomp and the excess of splendor be absent.¹²⁴ For neither are you the more acceptable if you should consecrate in vestments; nor are you the less acceptable if you should consecrate without vestments. For vestments do not commend us to God.¹²⁵ But I do not wish them to be consecrated or blessed,¹²⁶—as if they were about to be something sacred as compared with other garments,—except by that general benediction, by which it is taught that every good creature of God is sanctified through word and prayer;¹²⁷ otherwise it would be an utter superstition and impiety, introduced through the abominations of the pontiffs, as also other things.¹²⁸

I Tim. 4:
4-5

CONCERNING THE COMMUNION OF THE PEOPLE

We have said these foregoing things about the Mass and the office of the minister or bishop; now we will speak about the custom of communicating the people, on account of whom chiefly this Supper of the Lord was instituted and is called by that name. For as it is most absurd for a minister of the Word to act so foolishly as to publish the Word in public ministration where there is no hearer, and to cry aloud to himself alone amid rocks and woods and in the open air, so it is most wrong if ministers make ready and adorn the common¹²⁹ Supper of the Lord where there would be no guests who would eat and drink, and they alone, who ought to minister to others, would eat and drink at an empty table and in an empty sanctuary.¹³⁰ Wherefore if we wish truly to prize the institution of Christ, no private Mass should be left remaining in the Church, unless in this connection either infirmity or necessity should be tolerated for a time.

Moreover the custom is to be preserved here which is observed in connection with baptism; namely, that notice must first be given to the bishop, by those who are about to commune, that they request to be communicated with the

Lord's Supper, so that he may be able to know both their names and manner of life. Then let him not admit those seeking, unless they should give a reason for their faith; and being questioned, should answer, whether they understand what the Supper of the Lord is; what it stands for; and of what they wish to become partakers by its use; to wit, if they are able to recite the Words of Consecration from memory and explain that they come because of the consciousness of sin, or the fear of death, or, troubled by some other evil of the temptation of the flesh, of the world, of the devil, they hunger and thirst for that word and sign of grace and salvation from the Lord Himself through the ministry of the bishop by which they may be consoled and comforted, such as Christ out of priceless love gave and instituted in this Supper when He said: 'Take and eat, etc.'¹⁰⁰

But I think it will be sufficient if this questioning and investigation of him who seeks to be communicated is done once a year. Indeed it is possible that the one who seeks may be so understanding that he should be questioned either once only in his entire life, or in fact never. For through this custom we desire to guard against this: that the worthy and unworthy do not rush blindly to the Supper of the Lord, as we have seen done in the Roman Church hitherto, where nothing else is sought but to be communicated. Of faith, of comfort, of the whole use and fruits of the Supper absolutely neither mention nor consideration of these has had a place. Indeed they have concealed the very Words of Consecration, that is, the Bread of Life Itself, forcing this with vast zeal, yea, with highest frenzy, in order that communicants should perform a good work by their own merit, and that they should not nourish and strengthen faith through the goodness of Christ. But those who are not able to answer after the manner mentioned above, we desire such wholly excluded and banished from the communion of this Supper, Cf. Matt. 22:11-13 as being without the wedding garment.

Then when the bishop has perceived that they understand these things, he should also watch this, whether they evidence this faith and knowledge in life and conduct;—for Satan also both perceives all these things and is able to talk

about them;—that is, if he should see some fornicator, adulterer, drunkard, gamester, usurer, slanderer, or one made infamous by some manifest crime, let him be excluded absolutely from this Supper, unless by evident proof he shall have witnessed that his life has been changed. For the Supper should not be denied those who sometimes fall away and return, sorrowing over the lapse; indeed we should realize that the Supper was instituted especially on account of just such as these so that they may be refreshed and strengthened; for we all offend in many things; and we carry each other's burdens while we also mutually burden ourselves. But I am speaking of those contemptuous ones who sin shamelessly and without fear, yet, nevertheless, boast glorious things about the Gospel.^{130c}

Then when Mass is celebrated, it is fitting that those about to be communicated gather together by themselves in one place and in one group. For to this end the altar was invented, also the choir.³²¹ Not that standing here or there matters anything with God or adds anything to faith, but that it is necessary that they be seen and known openly, both by those who commune and those who do not commune; thus then their lives may be the better observed and proven and made known. For participation in this Supper is part of the confession by which they confess before God and angels and men that they are Christians. Therefore care must be taken lest they carry off the Supper stealthily, and then mingled with others it is not known whether they live well or badly.³²² However, I do not wish this to be made a law here, but to point out this,—what honorable and fitting (thing) may be performed freely by free Christians.

Now concerning private confession³²³ before communion. I still think as I have taught heretofore, namely, that it is neither necessary nor to be demanded; nevertheless it is useful and not to be despised, since the Lord neither required this Supper as necessary or established it by law, but left it free to everyone, saying, As often as you do this, etc. So concerning the preparation for the Supper, we think that preparing oneself by fasting and prayers is a matter of liberty. Certainly it behooves us to approach in soberness of

mind and earnestly and diligently, whether you fast nothing at best or pray ever so little. In truth, I say, moderation in drinking, not that superstitious practice of the papists;³⁸⁴ but moderation, lest you belch drunkenly and become sluggish and dull from a distended belly. For the best preparation is, as I have said, a soul moved and vexed by sins, death, temptations, and hungering and thirsting for healing and strength. Whatever of these things is true, these are the concern of the bishop and it rests with him that he may teach the people.

I Cor.
14: 38

This now remains to be considered, whether both forms,³⁸⁵ as they call them, should be ministered to the people. So here I say, Now that the Gospel has been inculcated among us these two whole years, at the same time sufficient indulgence also has been granted to infirmity. Hereafter one must act according to that saying of Paul: He who is ignorant, let him be ignorant. For it does not matter, if they, who for so long a time have not known the Gospel, do not receive again neither of the two forms, lest perchance bearing with infirmity perpetually may nourish obstinacy and result in proscription contrary to the Gospel. Wherefore simply according to the institution of Christ, let both forms be both sought and ministered. Those who do not desire this, let them have their way; and let nothing be ministered to them. For we point out this form of the Mass to those to whom it is known in some part. But those who have not heard as yet, or who have ability to know, it is not yet possible to offer them any counsel concerning this matter.

Nor should this matter be delayed at all in order that they may call together a Council, in which this may again be sanctioned as allowable. We have the law of Christ and we do not want either to be hindered by or to hear a Council in those matters which manifestly are of the Gospel. Yea, we say more. And if by chance a Council would decide and permit this, then least of all do we want to partake of both forms; nay, on the contrary, then first in contempt both of the Council and its statute, we would wish to partake either of one or neither, but never of both; and we would hold those to be wholly anathema who would partake of both on

the authority of such Council and statute. Do you wonder at this and ask the reason? Hear!—if you know the bread and wine were instituted by Christ, and both are to be received by all, as the Gospel and Paul testify most clearly, and as the adversaries themselves are forced to admit; nevertheless you do not dare to believe and trust Him so that you receive,¹²⁸ but you dare to receive if men decide this in a Council:—then are you not preferring men to Christ? Do you not extol sinful men above Him who is named and worshiped, God? Do you not trust in the words of men more than in the words of God? Nay rather, do you not utterly distrust the words of God and believe only the words of men? Moreover, how great is such hatred and denial of the most high God? What idolatry then can equal your religious obedience of a Council of men? Should you not the rather die a thousand times? Should you not the rather receive one or no form, than receive under such sacrilegious obedience and apostasy from the faith?

Therefore let them stop talking about their councils continually; but let them do this first, let them replace their sacrilege with the divine glory; let them confess that with Satan their master they have held back one form; that they have lifted themselves up above God; that they have condemned the Word, and destroyed so many people through so many ages; and let them do penance for this unspeakable tyranny of inhumanity and impiety. Then let them solemnly declare that we have done right when on our part and even against their dogmas we have taught and received both forms and have not waited for their Council, and let them give thanks because we refused to follow their perdition and abomination. After they have done this, we will be willing and well-disposed to honor and welcome their Council and ordinance. In the meantime should they not do this, but continue to demand that we await their authorization (for our action), we will listen to nothing; but we will continue both to teach and to do things which are opposed to them; in particular, those things which we know are especially displeasing to them. For what do they exact by this diabolical demand save that we exalt them above God, their words

above His words, and erect the abominable monsters of their spectres as idols in the place of God, when we want the whole world to be put under God and made subject to Him.

I also wish as many of the songs as possible to be in the vernacular, which the people should sing during Mass either immediately after the *Gradual*, and immediately after the *Sanctus* and *Agnus dei*.³⁹⁷ For who doubts that once upon a time all the people sang these, which now only the choir sings or responds when the bishop is consecrating? But these songs may be ordered by the bishops in this manner, they may be sung either right after the Latin songs, or on alternate days, now Latin, now the vernacular, until the entire Mass shall be made vernacular. But poets are wanting among us,—or they are not known as yet,—who can put together pleasingly pious and spiritual songs, as Paul calls them, which are worthy to be used by all the people in the Church of God.³⁹⁸ In the meantime it is proper to sing this after communion: *Gott sey gelobet und gebenedeyet der uns selber hatt gespeiset, etc.*; omitting this small part: *Und das heyliche sacramente, an unserm letzten ende, aus des geweyeten priesters hende*,³⁹⁹ which was added by someone of the cult of St. Barbara,⁴⁰⁰ who, holding the sacrament during his whole life as of little value, in death hopes, without faith, by this good work to enter into life. For both the meter and the manner of the music prove this part of the song is superfluous. In addition to that, this is good: *Nu bitten wyr den heyiligen geist*.⁴⁰¹ Also: *Eyn kindelin so lobelich*.⁴⁰² For you will not find many, which in some respect taste of a dignified spirit. I say this, so that if there are any German poets, they may be moved to and work out, pious poems for us.

Let these things said concerning the mass and communion suffice for the time being; other matters, use and the thing itself will teach; only let the Word of God be announced in the church actively and faithfully. For that which some require so strongly, namely, that all these things be proved by the Scriptures and the example of the fathers, does not disturb us greatly; because we have said above, that in these

matters liberty ought to rule, and it is not allowable to captivate Christian consciences either by laws or orders. For this reason the Scriptures define nothing of these things but permit the liberty of the spirit to abound according to its own perception in the matter, according to the fitness of places, times, and persons. Indeed the examples of the fathers are in part unknown; those which really are known are so varied that nothing definite can be established about them, evidently because they themselves used their own liberty. And even if they would be altogether definite and simple, nevertheless they could not impose upon us either law or necessity of imitating them.

In connection with the rest of the days,³⁴⁵ which we call *feriae*,³⁴⁶ I see nothing which cannot be continued, only discontinue the Mass;³⁴⁵ for Matins of three lessons and the Hours,³⁴⁶ including Vespers and Compline³⁴⁷ *de tempore*,³⁴⁸ excluding the *feriae* of saints,³⁴⁹ are nothing other than words of divine Scripture. And it is fitting, nay necessary, that the boys be accustomed to reading and hearing the Psalms and lections of Holy Scripture.³⁵⁰ But if anything here ought to be made new, the prolixity of things can be changed according to and at the will of the bishop; however after this fashion, that three Psalms be appointed for Matins, three for Vespers,³⁵¹ together with one or two Responsories.³⁵² These matters cannot be ordered better than at the will of the bishop whose duty it is to choose the best of the Responsories and Antiphons and to appoint their use from Lord's Day to Lord's Day throughout the week, so that neither excessive repetition of the same things cause aversion, nor too much variety and multitudinous singing and reading generate weariness of spirit.³⁵³ But let the entire Psalter, divided in parts, remain in use and the entire Scriptures, divided into lections, let this be preserved in the ears of the Church.³⁵⁴

Here, too, must be noted what I have suggested elsewhere,³⁵⁵ in order that this singing may not be a matter merely of tongue and of speech, or without sense like the sound of a pipe or harp. Therefore, daily lections must be appointed, one for the morning in the New or Old Testa-

I Cor.
14: 26

ment, another for Vespers in one or the other testament¹⁸⁶ with vernacular exposition. This rite is an ancient one, as is proven by both the custom itself and the word *Homilia* in Matins, and *Capitulum* in Vespers and the other Hours, namely, that the Christians, as often as they gathered together, read something and then it was interpreted in the vernacular, after the custom which St. Paul describes in I Corinthians 14.¹⁸⁷ Then when more evil times came, when prophets and interpreters were wanting, only this voice was left remaining after the lections and capitula, *Deo gratias*.¹⁸⁸ Then in place of the interpretation, lections, psalms and hymns were multiplied and other things also in this wearying verbosity and superabundance. Although the hymns and *Te deum laudamus*¹⁸⁹ bear testimony to this as does *Deo gratias* also, namely, that after the expositions and homilies they praised God and gave Him thanks for the true revelation of the Word of God. Such also I wish our vernacular songs to do.

Jere.
7: 31ff
19: 6ff

This much, O best Nicolas, I have for you in writing about the rites and ceremonies of our Wittenberg church, already partly instituted and, Christ willing, to be completed at an early day; which example, if it pleases you and others, you may imitate. If not, we will give place to your wisdom,¹⁹⁰ being prepared to accept what is more fitting from you and any others. Let it not frighten either you or any others because that sacrilegious Tophet still persists in our Wittenberg, which is impious and wretched gain¹⁹¹ to the princes of Saxony; I speak of the Church of All Saints. For by the mercy of God there is antidote aplenty among us through the abundance of the Word of God, so that the pest, weary and faint in its own corner, may not be a pestilence to any save itself. And there are scarcely three or four swine and gourmands in that same house of perdition who worship that wealth;¹⁹² to all others and at the same time, to all the people, it is a notable cause of loathing and an abomination.

Nor is it allowed to proceed against them by force or command, as you know it is not fitting for Christians to

fight save with the power of the sword of the Spirit. For in this way I hold the people back daily, otherwise that house, now, for a long time, the House of All Saints,—nay rather the House of All Devils,—would be known by some other name in the earth. But I have not exercised the power of the Spirit, which God has given us, against that, patiently bearing that reproach, if perchance God may give them penitence; meanwhile I am content, because our house, which more truly is the House of All Saints, may reign here and stand as a tower of Lebanon against the House of All Devils. Thus we torment Satan with the Word, although he simulates a laugh; but Christ will grant that his hope will fail him and that he will be overthrown with all beholding.

Eph. 6:17

Song of
Songs
7:4

Pray for me, O holy one of God.

Grace be with you and with all yours. Amen.

NOTES ON THE FORMULA OF MASS AND COMMUNION FOR THE CHURCH AT WITTENBERG

¹ Mass, the term which through the centuries has come to be the technical and common name for the celebration of the Holy Eucharist according to the use of the Roman Church. It is derived from the form of dismissal, *Ite missa est*.

² *rem*: thing, cause, interest.

³ Broadly: External ceremonial worship; more strictly, the Liturgy, then the Mass.

⁴ The word *use*, employed here and elsewhere in this translation, is the technical, liturgical term denoting a method of practice, whether current or to be established.

⁵ The inference here is that there were neither liturgy in the later, fuller sense, nor rites or ceremonies appointed or otherwise.

⁶ Athanasius (293-373), Bp. of Alexandria. Cf. Aug. Conf. x, 33, 50?

⁷ Cyprian (cir. 200-258), Bp. of Carthage. Probably confused with Celestine I, (Pope 422-432), who according to the *Liber Pontificalis*, first instituted the singing of psalms at mass. cf. Duchesne ed. of *Lib. Pont.* I: 230. See Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 5, 4.

⁸ The Kyrie—Lord, have mercy. The "Little Litany," one of the most ancient prayer forms in existence, and in universal liturgical use.

⁹ Basil the Great (Cir. 330-379), Bp. of Caesarea, one of the three Great Cappadocians. Reputed to have been the first to have compiled a Liturgy in writing (Eastern Church); this is still extant and in Church use. cf. Durandus, *Rat.* IV, 12, 4; Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*.

¹⁰ The historic Pericopes: proper Epistles and Gospels for the Day. Ranke:—*Das kirchliche Perikopensystem*. Beissel: *Entstehung d. Perikopen, d. röm. Massbuches*. Rietschel: *Lehrbuch*, I. 223ff et. al. Much excellent material will be found in the introductory chapters of Nebe's

Die Evangelischen Perikopen, and *Die Epistol. Perikopen*. Strodach: *The Ch. Yr.* 12f.

¹¹ Strodach—*The Church Year*, p. 15f.

¹² Found in this brief form in the early *Liturgy of St. James* (quite certainly 4th cent.) Expanded to fuller form by 5th cent. According to the *Lib. Pont.*, Pope Telesphorus (d. cir. 128) is said to have ordered the singing of *Gloria in ex.* in the Christmas matins, and Pope Symmachus (500) introduced its use in the Mass. Julian, *Dict. Hymn.* 425. Rietschel, *Lehrb.* I, 361—*et. al.*

¹³ *The Church Year*, 18. Julian, *Dict. Hymn.* 449; Rietschel, I: 366.

¹⁴ *The Ch. Yr.*, 18. On the word, cf. Julian, 47; Rietschel, I: 366f.

¹⁵ On the Creed in the Liturgy, see Rietschel I: 371ff.

¹⁶ Has been in use in the Liturgy since earliest days. Universal in Eastern Church. Said to have been introduced into the Mass by Sixtus I (133-142).

¹⁷ Supposed to have been introduced in the Mass by Pope Sergius (d. 701).

¹⁸ The sentences usually composed of Scripture passages, varying according to the Day, sung by the choir at the Distribution and immediately before the Post Communion Collect.

¹⁹ A *de tempore* use is one appointed for a specific season; a Lord's Day use, *de dominicis diebus*, is one appointed for a specific Lord's day: in other words the variables, certain propers, such as the *Pericopes*, *Graduals*, *Alleluia*, *Communions*.

²⁰ An interesting statement and to be regarded as indicating one of the principles upon which the cleansing of the Liturgy, etc. was carried out: ancient, pure practices were not objectionable and were to be retained if they conduced unto edification.

²¹ The Canon is that part of the Mass which follows immediately after the *Sanctus*. It begins *Tc igitur*. It is an accretion of many prayers and forms, and was especially offensive to Luther and the other Reformers because of its unevangelical character.

²² *Ex multorum lacunis ceu sentina collecto . . . lacuna: cavern, ditch; sentina: bilge water in the hold of a vessel:—gathered from dank caverns and fetid bilge water!*

²³ On the *Officiorium* see Rietschel, I: 376ff; 341. Anciently and originally the offering of the gifts by the people with accompanying Psalm verses. In the Mass, culminating with the *Virgo memores . . . offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam*, etc. A portion of the Mass especially offensive to Luther.

²⁴ May be interpreted either way: Indulgence connected with saying of certain devotions and earned by the prayer, or for certain offices or a Mass paid for and said in payee's behalf.

²⁵ Luther is referring to the short verses called *Tropes* which were inserted, as he says, in the *Gloria* and *Sanctus* and also in the *Introit*, and which added greatly to the intricacies of the Mass. A *trope* played on or enlarged a thought or phrase much in the manner of farsing. These all were excised from the Mass in the recension under Pius V.

²⁶ A part of the Canon, *infra actione*.

²⁷ A part of the Canon, the commemoration, the *dyptycha sanctorum*. The Canon itself is invariable but certain elements within it however are variable. cf. Rubrics of *Missale Romanum*, c. XII, § 6.

²⁸ Luther asserts that almost every trade and business in the world contributed some of its products to the enrichment or the needs of worship and therefore derived gain therefrom.

²⁹ non: not; omitted in original print; also in Speratus' translation.

³⁰ cf. W. Ed. 6: 365ff, 512ff; 8: 431ff, 506ff.

³¹ Introit: *The Church Year*, p. 15f. Rietschel, *Lehrbuch*, 1: 357f. Durandus, *Rationale divinarum officiorum*, (Venice, 1377), IV, 5, p. 64.

Note the omission of the Priest's Preparation for Mass which preceded the Int in the *Rom. Mis.*, and which later was adapted to congregational use in some of the *Kirchen Ordnungen* (KOO) and is now in *C.S.B.*

³¹ Reference to the ancient custom of using the entire Psalm as the Introit. As time passed the Introit underwent various changes, particularly abbreviation and adaptation to Church Year influences. In most cases it was constructed out of parts (verses) of the original Psalm Introit, as Antiphon to the *Psalm* itself which was abbreviated to but a verse or two, and continued to be indicated as *Psalmus*, the Psalm.

For the Introits referred to, cf. *The Common Service Book in loco*, (p. 371ff) where the historic proper Introits are appointed for use in The Liturgy.

³² Cf. the Introits appointed in *Mis. Rom.* with those appointed in the *C.S.B.*, p. 173ff.

³³ The Purification of the B.V.M.,—The Presentation of our Lord; celebrated Feb. 2. See *C.S.B.*, p. 176.

The Annunciation, March 25. See *C.S.B.*, p. 177.

³⁵ Dec. 26. See *C.S.B.*, p. 175.

³⁶ Dec. 27. See *C.S.B.*, p. 176.

As both of these Festivals fall within the Octave of the Nativity, the "Commemoration" of that Feast is made by the use of the Christmas Collect. Luther, however, favored the repetition of all Christmas propers on each of these Festivals instead of the propers appointed for the minor days.

^{36a} That is, the propers of the Nativity would be used on St. Stephen's Day and on St. John's Day instead of *their* propers. The term "office" is sometimes used, as here, technically to denominate the proper liturgical appointments for a given Mass.

³⁷ The Invention of the Holy Cross, May 3. The Exaltation of the Cross, Sept. 14. For Luther's marked opposition to these Festivals, cf. *Er. Ed.* 15: 359ff, 506ff; 16: 459ff.

³⁸ That is, banned.

³⁹ The customary use was three *Kyrie eleisons*, three *Christe eleisons* and three *Kyrie eleisons*. Luther later simplified this to a three-fold use in the *Deutsche Messe*, cf. *C.S.B. in loco*. These Kyries in mediæval times were expanded into quite lengthy sentences appropriate to certain days or seasons, and each of them, in time, had its own musical setting. They were one of the few places in the Mass where the people still sang the responds, and for that reason were very popular. Kyrie hymns resulted from this and also from processional uses. Durandus, IV, 12, p. 71. In the Bamberg Missal dated 1499, representative of the use current at Luther's day, there is a section in which the various Kyries, simple and expanded, ferial and festival, appear set to the "proper" melodies.

⁴⁰ The Roman custom was to omit *Gloria in excelsis* in Advent and from Septuagesima to Easter Eve, i.e. during the penitential seasons. Cf. *Mis. Rom.*, Rub. Gen. VIII. See Durandus, IV, 13.

⁴¹ See Durandus, IV, 15; *The Church Year*, p. 16ff.

⁴² It was and still is permissible, according to the Roman use, to read other Collects "according to the Office" after the proper Collect for the Day. Cf. *Mis. Rom.*, Rub. Gen. IX.

⁴³ The proper Epistle for the Day. These historic pericopes are appointed for use in The Liturgy in the *C.S.B.*; Durandus, IV, 16.

⁴⁴ The proper Gospels for the Day. See *C.S.B.*; Durandus, IV, 24.

⁴⁵ See note 10, p. 101 above.

⁴⁶ Luther did not hesitate to speak his mind about what he considered poorly or mischosen lections, as a number of his sermons witness; but nothing like a deliberate and methodical revision of the historic

pericopes was ever attempted by him. The nearest approach to this was his recommendation of a *lectio continua*, which, however, never seemed to have worked out successfully!

⁴⁷ Kasper Kantz's Evangelical Mass had already appeared and been used. Thomas Münzer, who inspired Luther with various emotions, was also active in introducing the Mass in the vernacular and was probably using it in Alstedt at the time Luther wrote the *Formula missae*. His and others' activities in this direction, crystallizing in definite forms and also appearing in print, may have been one of the real causes which forced Luther's activity in liturgical reform. See Smend, *Die Evangelischen deutschen Messen bis zu Luther's deutscher Messe*, especially p. 72ff and 94ff.

⁴⁸ The remnant of the Psalm or other Scripture sung from the *gradus* (step) of the Ambon between the reading of the liturgical Epistle and Gospel and serving to connect theselections. In the Eastertide the Alleluia is connected with these verses. See C.S.B.; Durandus, IV, 19, 20. *The Church Year*, p. 18ff. Rietschel I, 365f.

⁴⁹ In Lent the Gradual was lengthened quite materially and for that reason (and also for its heavier character) is known as the *Tractus*, Tract. See C.S.B.; Durandus, IV, 21. Rietschel I, 365f.

⁵⁰ Lent.

⁵¹ Holy Week.

⁵² The Sixth Feria: Good Friday.

⁵³ Many rubrical directions existed and still exist in the Roman use which marked these days by ceremonial omissions or additions. For example, the simplest, which is still preserved in the use of the C.S.B., is the omission of *Alleluia* during Lent.

⁵⁴ *Semimissa*—i.e. The Mass of the Presanctified. See *Missale Romanum*, 199f, rubric beginning *Hodie Sacerdos*, and 216ff, beginning with rubric *Circa finem*. This is a celebration without the consecration of the Host or Wine. Two Hosts are consecrated by the celebrant at the Maundy Thursday Mass, one of which is reserved at a specially prepared place for this Good Friday use. This pre consecrated Host and Wine, which is not consecrated by the customary prayers, etc., but into which a third part of the pre consecrated Host is placed, are the "elements" of this celebration, hence the *semimissa*. In Luther's day others beside the celebrating priest were permitted to commune but *sub silentio*. Bamberg Missal, folio XCIII, rubric: Et sic communicat ipse et ceteri. This is now forbidden in the present use, the priest alone communing. The prayers in connection with the wine (the cup) are omitted in this Good Friday use, but the unconsecrated wine, together with the portion of the Host placed in it, is consumed by the priest. This is the reason why Luther writes of "the one part of the Sacrament," *altera sacramenti pars*—Speratus' translation: der eynigen gestalt des Sacraments. Rubrics relative to the Mass of the Presanctified in the use current in Luther's day will be of interest. See Bamberg Missal (1499), folios XCIII verso, XCIII recto; also LXXXVIII. Nürnberg Missal (1484), folios (numbers supplied), 94 verso ff and 87f.

⁵⁵ Speratus renders this sentence thus: The Alleluia is a song of the Church which should be used daily, and never omitted, just as without cessation we should celebrate the commemoration of the passion of Christ and of His victory.

⁵⁶ Really synonymous and used rather indifferently for much the same thing. The Sequence originated from the prolongation of the last A in the Alleluia of the Festival Graduals. These prolonged musical notes were called *neumes* which were named the *sequentia* as following the Alleluia. In course of time words were set to each of these notes, and these words in turn came to be known as Sequences, thus bringing another technical term into being. As long as these were rhythmical

they were known as Proses, but in time they also became metrical, conforming to the metrical hymn form: thereafter such compositions were distinctively Sequences. Durandus. IV, 22. Rietschel I, 467f.

⁶⁷ That is the one proper for use on the Festival.

⁶⁸ Appointed in some pre-Reformation missals for use in *nocte natalis*. See, for example, Bamberg Missal, folio CXX verso. Authorship of this Sequence is uncertain; it has been ascribed to Gregory the Great and to Notker. For text see Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, II, 5. Luther wrote a Christmas hymn based on this Latin Sequence, *Gelobet seist du Jesus Christ*. This was written in all probability about Christmas of 1523, and was issued in broadsheet form in 1524 and in the *Einchriridion*, Erfurt, 1524.

⁶⁹ Liturgical terminology. When a use is proper for a certain Day or Feast, it is said to be of the Day or of the Feast. This expression would mean that the Sequences mentioned are proper for use on the Festival of the Holy Spirit and the days within the Octave.

⁷⁰ *Sancti Spiritus adus nobis gratia*. Text, Daniel, II, 16. Ascribed to Notker. Appointed in pre-Reformation missals for the Fest. of Pentecost. Bamberg Missal, folio CXX verso.

⁷¹ See Daniel, II, 315. Authorship uncertain. Pre-Reformation appointment for Vespers of the Vigils of Pentecost. In the present Roman use it is appointed for the Festival and the Ferials following. Luther versified this Sequence in his hymn, *Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott*, which first appeared in 1524.

⁷² See note 10, p. 101. Durandus, IV, 24.

⁷³ On Altar and Gospel Lights and the Use of Incense, see Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, Sections V and VI, p. 133ff. Durandus, IV, 24, 13 and 34.

⁷⁴ Durandus IV, 25. Rietschel I, 371ff. Scudamore, ch. VII, 263ff.

⁷⁵ It cannot be asserted that the Church was ever without preaching or vernacular preaching at that; and until after the time of Gregory the Great it was imbedded in the Mass and connected with the Lectons. But later, while it was virtually forbidden to the priests and consequently dropped from the Mass, preaching still remained a popular practice in certain sections of the Church and at times was still connected with the Mass. However "preaching" as such did not always measure up to the meaning which Luther placed upon it.

(Cf. Rietschel I, 281 (Gr. Ch.); 290, (African Ch.); 305 (Milan); 313, (Gall.); 341, 368 (Rome). Scudamore, ch. X 309.

⁷⁶ There is precedent in the Church's history and practice for preaching at times other than the Mass. For example it must have been Augustine's and Chrysostom's practice to preach in the afternoon; and there appear to have been "preaching services." But when it comes to the Mass, the Sermon or preaching either followed the Gospel or the Creed. There are variations from this, but no lasting ones. Luther's suggestion seems to betray a feeling of uncertainty, something quite evident throughout this period in his thought and writing. The customary liturgical place, after the Creed, would be the logical one,—apart from historic precedent,—as it then would be, and is, not only the Exposition of the Word but, as he speaks of the Gospel, "the voice calling in the wilderness and calling unbelievers to faith." (It will be interesting to compare Durandus IV, 26, folio 90, especially ¶ 1, right here.) Nor would this place in the Liturgy serve to over-emphasize the Sermon if the Holy Communion would be celebrated always. The position before the Introit was revolutionary and would have over-emphasized the sermon at the expense of the Communion: this notwithstanding the interesting comment of Daniel, *Cod. Lit.* II, 85, footnote 4, where he writes, that "it would be rightly said that the whole

cultus of our Church would have followed another way if this opinion of Luther had been accepted among us always and everywhere. For we would not have been implicated in that pernicious error in which the preaching becomes not only the principal part of the divine office but as I may say, the *only*."

⁶⁷ A truly evangelic definition of the Mass and Communion, the complete opposite to the current conception in Luther's day: A priestly action to the exclusion of lay participation save as to presence, and that not necessary in all cases.

⁶⁸ This and the following observation relative to things done in the Mass up to the *Symbolum*, indicate that Luther knew of the ancient division of the Mass into the *Missa catechumenorum* and the *Missa fidelium*. All but the faithful were dismissed at the end of the *Missa catechumenorum*.

Furthermore, Luther makes the point that all that is requisite to a *valid* celebration of "the Communion of the Table of the Lord" is strictly limited to Our Lord's Institution and the evident commission to preach the Gospel, the line between things which "do not bind" and things which do, being drawn after the *Symbolum*. This is decidedly interesting when applied, for demonstration, to the structure of the historic Liturgy of the Mass!

⁶⁹ Offertory. Durandus, IV, 26-32. *Catholic Encyclopedia* XI, 217f.

⁷⁰ i.e. Sacrifice.

⁷¹ The Words of Institution.

⁷² *Cath. Enc.* III, 255ff. Durandus IV, 35ff. Rietschel I, 380ff.

⁷³ Latin: *post Canonem*. Probably a printer's mistake; but if this is really what Luther meant and not a misprint, it would be difficult to place the preparation and consecration of the Elements, as that "form" which Luther retains for purpose of "consecration" (see text below) was a part of the Canon. The offering of the gifts of bread and wine (*offertory*) was connected with a previous action which sometimes was spoken of as the "little canon"; but Luther omits all of this. Perhaps this might mean that the elements were to be prepared at this place of the displaced "little canon."

The simplest explanation is the misprint theory; although Speratus in his translation covers it cleverly by saying: "after the *omitted* canon." Already in the Jena Ed. (1556), Vol. II, the word *Concionem* has been substituted. This of course solves the difficulty, "after the sermon."

⁷⁴ The practice of mixing a little pure water with the wine was prevalent in the Primitive Church as early as the time of Justin Martyr. It also passed into almost every section of the Church. Although at first without any symbolic significance, it later became the cause of much doctrinal and symbolic discussion, some of which Luther evidently answers in this paragraph. It is claimed that the practice originated quite naturally as a result of the ancient Jewish custom of mixing water with wine always before use, because the wine was too strong to use undiluted.

See Durandus, IV, 30, 18ff. *Mis. Rom.*, p. 270, first rubric.

Scudamore, ch. XII, sec. X, p. 388ff.

⁷⁵ e.g. on this; on the Epiklesis; on the "Moment of Consecration;" etc.

⁷⁶ As a man-made doctrine it is not to be considered as binding.

⁷⁷ The Preface. Durandus IV, 33; Rietschel I, 379, a. Speratus retains this portion of the Mass in the Latin, as that was the language still in use at the Celebration.

⁷⁸ *Sursum corda*. Scudamore, II, ch. IV, sec. I, p. 523.

⁷⁹ *Habeamus,—habemus* customary. Possibly another misprint. Speratus,—*habeamus*.

⁸⁰ *Vere dignum*. Scudamore, II, ch. IV, sec. I, 527.

²¹ The Verba. Rietschel I, 380f.

²² Qui pridie. Durandus IV, 41; Scudamore II, ch. VI, sec. IX, 599ff.

²³ Note Luther's variation in the Words of Institution from the form in the Mass.

In order to follow Luther's suggested revision intelligently the outline of the Canon of the Mass current in his day is necessary. It is therefore appended here, as found in the *Nürnberg Missal* (printed at Nürnberg, 1484, by George Stuchs de sultzbach) with other notations from the *Bamberg Missal* of 1499. While the latter is a later publication, it nevertheless contains the older text of the Order, and therefore is more valuable, but it does not contain the Canon or complete rubrics, as was frequently the case with these old missals, such appointments appearing in other volumes. Bamberg represents a diocesan use which had not adopted, as yet, the latest "revisions." For further comparison reference is also made to the *Milan Missal* of 1474, the first printed Roman Missal,—Vol. XVII of the Henry Bradshaw Society publications, Vol. I, (1899).

The outline is *Nürnberg Missal*—N, beginning with p. 110, folio numbers supplied; other references *Bamberg*—B,—beginning folio CXXXI; *Milan*—M, beginning p. 205. If no variation is marked, it may be taken for granted that the outline as given is current in the other Missals. Cf. also p. 124, this volume.

Prefatio quotidiana solenniter (B. only)

Per omnia secula seculorum.

R Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

R Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

R Habemus ad dominum.

Gratias agamus domino deo nostro.

R Dignum et iustum est.

Vere dignum et iustum est, equum et salutare. Nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus. Per christum dominum nostrum. Per quem maiestatem tuam laudant angeli adorant dominationes tremunt potestates. Celi celorumque virtutes ac beata seraphin socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti jubeas deprecamur supplici confessione dicentes.

Sanctus. Benedicite. (B. ends here.)

Te igitur . . . N. III; M. 206.

Memento domine . . . (Oratio pro vivis) N. 111; M. 206.

Communicantes et memoriam venerantes. (Infra canonem) N. 111; M. 206.

Ilanc igitur oblationem. . . (Infra actionem) N. 111; M. 207.

Quam oblationem. . . N. 111; M. 207.

(Hic accipiat hostiam in manibus dicendo) N. 111, verso; M. 207.

Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, et elevatis oculis in celum ad te deum patrem suum omnipotentem, tibi gratias agens benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis dicens, Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes.

HOC EST ENIM CORPUS MEUM.

(Hic deponat hostiam, et levet calicem dicens) N. 111, verso; M. 207.

Simili modo postquam cenatum est accipiens et hunc preclarum calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas. Item tibi gratias agens, benedixit deditque discipulis suis dicens, Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes.

HIC EST ENIM CALIX SANGUINIS MEI NOVI ET ETERNI
TESTAMENTI MISTERIUM FIDEI QUI PRO VOBIS ET PRO
MULTIS EFFUNDETUR IN REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM.
HEC QUOTIENSCUNQUE FECERITIS IN MEI MEMORIAM
FACIETIS.

(Hic deponit calicem)

Unde et memores	N. 111, verso; M. 207
Supra que propitio	N. 111, verso; M. 208
Supplices te rogamus	N. 111, verso; M. 208
Memento etiam (Oratio pro defunctis)	N. 112; M. 208
Nobis quoque	N. 112; M. 208
Per quem	N. 112; M. 208
Oremus. Precepto salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati audemus dicere.	
Pater noster	N. 112; M. 209
Libera nos quesumus (Including the rubrics of the Fraction of the Bread)	N. 112, 112 verso; M. 209, 210.
Fiat commixtio	N. 112, verso M. 210.
Agnus dei	N. 112, verso; M. 210.
Domine jesu christe qui	N. 112, verso; M. 210.
Domine jesu christe fili dei	N. 112, verso; M. 210.
Perceptio corporis tui	N. 112, verso; M. 210.
Panem celestem	N. 113; M. 211.
Domine non sum dignus	N. 113; M. 211.
Corpus domini	N. 113; M. 211.
Quid retribuam	N. 113; M. 211.
Sanguis domini	N. 113; M. 211.
Quod ore sumpsimus	N. 113; M. 211.
Corpus tuum	N. 113; M. 211.
Placeat tibi	N. 113; M. 211.

See Durandus, IV, c. 35ff, on the Canon.

⁶⁴ Intonation, i.e., sung by the celebrant.

⁶⁵ —Custom is still uppermost with Luther here.

⁶⁶ Customarily in secreto. Cf. Rub. Gen. Missalia, p. liii, XVI, 1.

⁶⁷ This is an example of Luther's indecision typical of his attitude in and toward such matters.

⁶⁸ Note the inference here, that words of Institution are the consecration. True to Roman precedent,—The Words of Institution—the Consecration.

⁶⁹ Holy, Holy, Holy. Displaced by Luther. Durandus IV, 34; Rietschel I, 379, b; Scudamore II, ch. IV, sec. II, 531. This displacement has not been followed in C.S.B.

⁷⁰ Benedictus qui venit. Matt. 21:9. Durandus IV, 34, 11.

⁷¹ The Elevation. Durandus IV, 41, 51—3; Scudamore, III, ch. VI, sec. 10, 616ff; Mis. Rom. p. 325, 326.

⁷² Daniel, *Cod. Lit.*, II, 87. Note 3. Luther not only seemed at first to tolerate the Elevation but also to approve it, as these words witness: "This means,—when the priest elevates the Sacrament and the Chalice with the accompanying ringing of the bells, it is nothing other than that we are thereby reminded of Christ's words; just as if the priest and he who strikes the bells were saying to us: 'Hear ye Christians; behold, take and eat; take and drink; this is the Body and Blood of Christ.' So that the Elevation by the priest and the bell mean for the lay folk the same as if they heard, loud and clear, the words of Christ which are read by the priest in secret." Later he included the Elevation among the adiaphora, and finally abrogated it completely as far as the practice of the church at Wittenberg was concerned.

⁷³ Durandus, IV, 47, 48. Rietschel, I, 385, Scudamore, II, c, VII,

sec. I, 654ff. Mis. Rom. p. 328, where the intonation is also printed.

⁹⁴ *Præceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati, audeamus dicere*:—Taught by thy saving precepts and following thy divine institution, we make bold to say:—Mis. Rom. p. 328.

⁹⁵ The Lord's Prayer was intoned up to and including the Petition, *Et ne nos inducas in tentationem*. Upon which immediately was responded, *Sed libera nos a malo*. Upon which the priest said secretly *Amen*. Then follows this rubric: He takes the paten between his first and middle finger, and says:

Libera nos, quaesumus domine, ab omnibus malis, praeteritis, praesentibus, et futuris: et intercedente beata, et gloriosa semper virgine dei genitrice maria, cum beatis Apostolis tuis petro et paulo, atque andrea, et omnibus sanctis, da propitius pacem in diebus nostris: ut ope misericordiae tuae adjuti, et a peccato simus semper liberi, et ab omni perturbatione securi.

Hic frangit hostiam primo in duas partes dicens

Per eumdem dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium tuum.

Deinde frangit unam partem in duas partes dicens

Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate spiritus sancti deus.

Hic elevet modicum tertiam partem cum calice dicens

Per omnia secula seculorum. R. Amen.

Hic facit signum crucis super sanguinem dicens

Pax † domini sit † semper vobis † cum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo. Milan Missal, p. 209f.

The only variations between above and the modern Missale Romanum are in the rubrics, which in the present use are fuller. Cf. Mis. Rom. p. 331f.

This is the Embolism, that is, an enlargement and amplification of the last petition, *Sed libera, etc.*, into a prayer. Durandus, IV, 49, 2, 3; Scudamore, II, VII, II, 656f.

⁹⁶ *Speratus*: Schirmschlegen!—signs of the Cross.

⁹⁷ ¹⁰⁰ During the saying of the prayer *Libera nos*, the *Fractio panis*, breaking of the bread, takes place (97). After the words *et omnibus sanctis*, the priest makes the sign of the cross (95), with the paten from his forehead to his breast, and kisses it. He continues with the prayer and after the words, *et ab omni perturbatione securi*, he puts the paten under the host, uncovers the chalice, kneels, rises, takes the host and breaks it (97) in half over the chalice, saying: *Per eumdem dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum*. He then puts the portion that is in his right hand on the paten; he then breaks off a small piece from the portion which is in his left hand, saying: *Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus*. He puts the other half with his left hand on the paten, and holding the particle in his right hand over the chalice, and the chalice with his left, he says: *Per omnia saecula saeculorum R. Amen*. Then he makes the sign of the cross three times over the chalice with the piece of the host (96) saying: *Pax † Domini sit † semper vobis † cum* (99). *R. Et cum spiritu tuo*. He then puts the particle into the chalice (90), saying silently: *Haec commixtio, et consecratio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, fiat accipientibus nobis in vitam aeternam. Amen*. This last action is called the *commixtio* or *immisio*: the commixture of the Body and Blood of our Lord.

Durandus, IV, 49, 50, 51. Fraction:—Scudamore, II, VIII, 657ff and VI, 606ff. Commixture:—II, VIII, 671; Mis. Rom. p. 331ff, Riet-schel, I, 386.

¹⁰¹ The Gospel Absolution: Luther's gloss is distinctly unique when compared with the Roman Rite, and as he here appoints the Pax it becomes an Evangelic bond between the Words of Institution with

their Invitation, This do,—As oft as ye do,—and the faithful communicant who approaches in obedience to his Lord's invitation. See preceding note. Durandus, IV, 51, 15; cf. Scudamore, II, VIII, 662.

³⁰² In the Rite to which Luther was accustomed the Pax was said, of course, while the priest faced the Altar. Opposed to this is ancient custom and also the ritualistic interpretation of sacramental action by posture and sign. The bishops, it is said, in earliest days, celebrated facing the people; i.e., as there was space back of the altar, between altar and wall of apse, and as the altar stood on the chord of the apse and did not have a reredos, the bishop stood back of the altar facing outward toward the people. His throne likewise was immediately back of the altar in the center of the apse wall.

³⁰³ It was quite natural for Luther to make this appointment. The celebrant in the Roman Mass communicated himself with the consecrated Host and Wine whether others were making their communion or not. He, of course, was supposed to have made his preparation according to quite definite rubrical directions and therefore was "prepared." The Roman use did not know any other method; and this had been the practice of the Church since post-apostolic times. The first indication of this practice as an established appointment is in one of the canons of the *Apostolic Constitutions*; and thereafter the use continued unbroken having been entrenched and fortified by the developing theories and doctrines of the priesthood and the Mass.

Here again, apparently, Luther had not thought things through either from the standpoint of doctrine or from practical angles. He simply followed the practice to which he and all were accustomed.

But as time wore on the question of self-administration presented difficulties and queries which had to be faced; probably the gravest was the "scandalizing" of the common people who continued, after evangelic enlightenment, to look upon self-administration as a "priestly" act and wrongly interpreting the Holy Supper, and therefore still snacking of the Roman Mass.

The situation was met shortly by specific appointment in one *Kirchen Ordnung* after another forbidding self-administration, exceptions being allowed only by direct permission of proper authority,—bishop or consistory. Luther, himself, seems to have discontinued the practice in a comparatively short time, because he realized that it offended the people and was a "perversion of the Office (Ministry) and true usage," and communed with the congregation.

It is interesting to observe that the English prayer books of this and later periods continued the self-communication of the "priest"—"Minister"; and that this is their rubrical direction today; while in the Church of the Reformation the well-nigh universal practice is non-self-administration when the officiant celebrates alone. Daniel, II, 88, note 3; Scudamore, II, c. IX, sec. 1, p. 691ff. Gerber, *Kirchencroniken in Sachsen*, 479ff. Rietschel, I, 439.

³⁰⁴ Preserved in C.S.B. Durandus, IV, 52; Rietschel, I, 386; Scudamore, II, c. VIII, sec. 6, p. 678.

³⁰⁵ Domine Jesu christe fili dei vivi qui ex voluntate patris cooperante spiritu sancto per mortam tuam mundum vivificasti, libera me per hoc sacrificium (*) corpus et sanguinem tuum, ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis et universis malis, et fac me tuis semper inherere mandatis, et a te nunquam separari permittas. Qui cum eodem deo patre et spiritu sancto vivis et regnas in secula seculorum amen. Milan, 210.

O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, Who according to the will

* Note the reading *sacrificium*, sacrifice. Nürnberg Missal (1484), p. 112 verso and modern Roman Missal, p. 333, have *sacrosanctam*, most holy.

of the Father, through the cooperation of the Holy Spirit, hast quickened the world by Thy death: Deliver me through this Thy Most Holy Body and Blood from all my iniquities and from all evil, and make me always cleave to Thy commandments and permit me never to be separated from Thee, Who livest and reignest with the same God, Father and Holy Spirit world without end. Amen.

³⁰⁸ Corpus domini nostri jesu christi custodiat animam meam in vitam eternam amen.

Sanguis domini nostri jesu christi custodiat animam meam in vitam eternam amen. Milan, 211; Nürnberg, 112 verso; Rom. Mis., 333f.

The two brief prayer forms said by the priest before he communicates himself with the Host and Wine respectively. These became, by changing the pronoun as Luther appoints, the Forms of Administration at the Distribution. They are preserved in C.S.B. Rietschel, I, 390.

³⁰⁷ A short chant usually consisting of verses of Scripture sung at first during the communion, hence its name; then immediately at the conclusion. Originally it was much longer in form ending with the Gloria Patri and like the Introit passed through a shortening process for practical reasons, until now it is virtually nothing more than the antiphon of the original Communio. Durandus, IX, 58; Fortescue, The Mass, p. 387f.

³⁰⁸ The last prayer or prayers of the Mass, constructed in collect form, and varying with the other Propers, sometimes a thanksgiving, usually intercessions. It is variously named in the old sacramentaries. In the Gelasianum it is called both *Postcommunio* and *Oratio ad populum*; in the Gregorianum, *Ad complendam* and at certain times in the year when there are two prayers at this place, the second is called *Oratio super populum*. The names *Postcommunio*, after communion, and *Ad complendam*, at the completion, are self-evident. Luther's reason for substituting another prayer for these variable post communions was based on his opposition to their content; they were not "evangelic" according to his conception nor expressive of the proper and harmonious expression of thanksgiving. His feel for this finally eventuated in the invariable Postcommunio now appointed in the C.S.B. coming into the Church's use through Luther's *Deutsche Messe*, 1526. Durandus IV, 56, 57.

³⁰⁹ Quod ore sumpsimus, domine, pura mente capiamus, et de munere temporali fiat nobis remedium sempiternum amen. Milan, 211; Nürnberg, 113; Rom. Mis. 334.

What we have taken with the mouth, O Lord, may we receive with pure mind, and out of this temporal gift may there be made for us an everlasting remedy. Amen.

³¹⁰ Corpus tuum domine quod sumpsi et sanguis quem potavi adhereat visceribus meis et presta, ut in me non remaneat scelerum macula quem pura et sancta refecerunt sacramenta. Qui vivis, Milan, 211; Nürnberg, 113; Rom. Mis. 334. May Thy Body, O Lord, which I have received, and Thy Blood, which I have drunk, cleave to my inmost parts, and grant that stain of sin may not remain in me whom the pure and holy sacraments have refreshed; Who livest.

³¹¹ The Termination of the Collect, here indicated to be used in complete form. See C.S.B., General Rubrics I, p. 484. However here there is a variation from the rule as the original of this collect gives an abbreviated form: Qui vivis et regnas in secula seculorum amen.

³¹² The Salutation, introducing the act of Dismissal.

³¹³ i.e., Go, Mass is ended. On the meaning of this phrase, its relation to the term "Mass," see Rietschel I, 347; Durandus, IV, 57, 7.

³¹⁴ During certain seasons of the Church Year Benedicamus Domino is said instead of Ite missa est; e.g., Advent, Lent. See Durandus *loc. cit.* The rubric of the Missal reads: "Then is said, Ite missa est or

Benedicamus Domino according to what mass is being said. Neither is said at a Requiem Mass. Benedicamus is said instead of Ite in Advent and Lent. Alleluia is added to Ite in Eastertide." This is now to be the normal conclusion, according to Luther's appointment: Salutation, Benedicamus; thus the C.S.B.

¹³⁵ Alleluia was added to Ite missa est during Eastertide. It and Benedicamus had their own proper melodies; cf. the Bamberg Missal in the section following the Proper Prefaces; also Rom. Mis., p. 335.

Luther now proposes to add it to Benedicamus; but makes its use permissive.

¹³⁶ There were other musical settings to Benedicamus used only at Vespers.

¹³⁷ The "customary Benediction" was, Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, Pater, et Filius †, et Spiritus Sanctus. May God Almighty bless you, the Father, the Son †, and the Holy Ghost. Duandus, IV, 59; Rietschel, I, 393.

¹³⁸ The proposed use of the Aaronitic Benediction is peculiar to Luther. There is no historical precedent for its suggestion in that part of the Church with which Luther was familiar. In the second book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* it is held up as an example as to the manner in which the people are to be blessed after Communion, but not appointed as a form of benediction. It is used as a benediction in the *Mozarabic Missal*, and referred to by Isadore of Seville in his commentary on the Divine Office. One wonders whether Luther might have been familiar with these very widely separated and singular uses, but the weight of probability is that he was not.

It is far more likely that Luther's love for Holy Scripture and his passion to employ it in every conceivable way led him here. Rietschel I, 402.

¹³⁹ That is: Jehovah Himself prepared and appointed this benediction.

¹⁴⁰ There is liberty of action here, apparently without any restriction whatever. Is it the same old uncertainty notwithstanding an apparent leaning toward the Scriptural precedent? But one thing is to be remembered that the Church is returning to communion of the people in both kinds after hundreds of years of communion of the laity in but one kind. How shall this be done? Where is the precedent? Experimentation now brings a settled practice in a short period.

¹⁴¹ That is, the appointments of the Mass in the foregoing paragraphs would have to be adapted to whatever method of administration would be pursued.

¹⁴² The principles here enunciated by Luther are ideal and theoretically conform to Evangelic teaching but the practical issues were an entirely different matter! The points of view that centered themselves in ceremonies, etc., and that persisted, the divergences which arose, the offences created thereby, resulted, notwithstanding such writings as this, in a motley of interpretation and practice. Luther apparently felt these issues rather keenly and knew they had to be met as witness his *Exhortation to the Christians in Livonia concerning Public Worship and Unity*, 1525. On the one side was the common man accustomed to a life and practice born in him, inherited from generations before him, wedded to them, superstitiously, jealously clinging to many; on the other is the Teaching of the Word and its direct applications. Nevertheless while practical issues might force certain qualifications, the Gospel still required the emphasis of the ideal; such things remained adiaphora. It was a difficult situation.

Cf. Aug. Conf. Art. XV, XXI, XXII, XXIV, etc.
Jacoby, *Die Liturgik der Reformatoren*.

Ehrenfeuchter, *Theorie des christlichen Kultus*.

Kliefoth, *Der christliche Kultus*.

Shöberlein, *Liturg. Ausbau d. Gemeindegottesdiensts.*

Rietschel, *Lehrbuch d. Liturgik.*

To gain the Roman point of view see Thalhofer-Eisenhofer, *Katholische Liturgik.*

¹²³ The historic liturgical vestments used by the officiant and assistants when celebrating the Mass. First was the garment which is now known as the cassock. In the case of monks, for example, Luther, who was an Augustinian, the monk's habit served instead. Over this the celebrant, robing for Mass, put on the amice, alb, girdle, maniple, stole, and chasuble in turn. The deacon of the Mass wore all of these except the chasuble; instead of this he put on a dalmatic, but the stole was worn differently than the priest. The sub-deacon wore amice, alb, girdle, maniple, and tunicle. These vestments and their use run back into the far past and are the object of much symbolic interpretation by commentators on the Mass. For example, see Durandus, III, cc. 1-19.

¹²⁴ The wealth of vestments, both quantity and quality, owned by countless churches in Luther's day is a matter of history. Some of them were glorious almost beyond description, the splendor of their adornment, magnificence of the needle-worker's art made of them something more than treasures. "Excess" had entered here; and the motives were not single and pure.

However, here again, the common people were accustomed, wedded to this use. More churches and sections retained them at first than abrogated them, but usually the use was limited to the cassock, alb and chasuble, possibly the stole also. Many of the KOO definitely retain or permit their use; others are silent; comparatively few order them abrogated.

Luther, at first, continued to use the historic vestments; then, one may imagine, to show that he considered such things "free," did pretty much as he pleased. He preached in alb, in his monk's garb, and finally in his doctor's robe.

See Daniel, II, p. 90f, Note 1; Rietschel, I, 151.

¹²⁵ The evangelic principle.

¹²⁶ That is, according to the ritualistic benediction of the *Rituale*.

¹²⁷ Evidently meaning that such articles might be "set apart" by Word and Prayer; in other words an evangelic blessing.

¹²⁸ Speratus: Eyngefurt durch die Bischoff, des gewewels gleich wye all ander der gleichen lepperey—nonsense, frivolous stuff.

¹²⁹ That is, belonging to all.

¹³⁰ Aula, inner court; therefore Sanctuary or Holy of Holies.

^{130b} The Confessional as such would necessarily be summarily dismissed, but the necessity not only for declaration of intention, but for examination and the evangelic ministry of true confession and comforting absolution remained. Here is the natural sequence—"private confession" as a requisite to participation and as a safeguard to the sacrament. The latter appears not for the sacrament's sake but for the health of the soul of the prospective communicant: and therein is the true evangelic cure of souls and not a development of a Protestant penitential system or discipline. See p. 95.

^{130c} The foregoing paragraphs are extremely interesting when one compares the simplicity of pastoral personal ministration indicated here, with the great penitential system in force in the Roman Church. There every specific sin or wrong or need has its "remedy," but usually a remedy which the one confessing must work out according to the canonically scheduled process or suffer the penalty there specified. Here is the simplicity of the Gospel where discipline is administered for spiritual health and where the ministry is sympathetically, lovingly personal in relationship and administration.

¹³¹ Luther evidently is thinking of the architectural arrangement of

the usual Gothic church where the Chancel consists of Choir and Sanctuary. The prospective communicants are to gather in a group in the Choir.

¹³² The sense of this is, that people are not to approach without notice,—having gone to confession,—or to walk up, mingling with others who have, and hide themselves away in a group. The open segregation of the communicants is for salutary purposes as well as practical.

¹³³ Absolutely required of those who propose to make their communion. Luther of course is thinking of the abuses connected therewith and the consequent offences.

¹³⁴ That is, rigorous fasting.

¹³⁵ *Utranque speciem*, both Elements, the bread and the wine.

¹³⁶ That is, take Him at His word and receive the sacrament according to His institution.

¹³⁷ Active participation by the common people in the Mass as far as response or hymn was concerned amounted to little or nothing at this period, although during the late Middle Ages the people in Germany had been permitted to sing vernacular "hymns" immediately after certain parts of the Mass. In some sections this custom was permitted to continue, some dioceses being less rigorous in enforcing discontinuance. Luther's effort to restore congregational participation in distinctive liturgical responds and songs took form in his suggested Orders and what was more to the point, in versifications of certain parts of the services and in a variety of hymns. Cf. for example the *Deutsche Messe*.

¹³⁸ Cf. the prefaces to the various hymn books by Luther; translated in this edition.

¹³⁹ This is a pre-Reformation hymn which was used variously: as a post communion hymn, or at processions, sometimes after the Gradual on Corpus Christi. Text, Wackernagel, II, 748.

Luther revised it shortly after this writing by adapting the first stanza and adding two more. His revised text appeared for the first time in *Eyn Enchiridion*, Erfurt, 1524. This text follows:

Got sey gelobet un gebenedeyet der uns selber hat gespeysset. Mit seynes fleische und mit seinem blut, das gyb uns herr golt zu gutte. Kirieleyson. Herr durch deynen heiligen leichnam, der von deynen mutter Maria kam, und das heylige blut hylff uns herr aus aller nott. Kirieleyson.

Der heylig leichnam yet fur uns gegeben, zum todt das wir dardurch leben. Nicht grosser gutte kund er uns geschencken, dabey wir sein soln gedennen. Kirieleyson. Herr deyn lieb so gross dich zwungen hat, das dein blut an uns gross wunder that. Und bezalt unser schult, das uns Got ist worden holt. Kirieleyson.

Got geb uns allen seyner gnaden segen, das wir gehen auff seynen wegen. In rechter lieb und brudlicher trewe, das uns die speys nicht gerewe. Kirieleyson. Herr dein heylig geyst uns nymer las, d uns geb zuhalten rechte Mass. Das dein arm Christenheyt, leh ynn fryd und eynigkeit. Kirieleyson. See Kirchenbuch, No. 243; also Annotations to Luther's Hymns in this volume.

¹⁴⁰ Saint Barbara, Virgin and Martyr, commemorated December 4. For the purely legendary account of her life and martyrdom see *Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 285.

Because of the legend that her father was struck by lightning on account of his part in her martyrdom, St. Barbara came to be regarded by the common people as the patron saint in time of danger from thunder storms and fire and later on, by analogy, as the protector of artillery men and miners. The fact that she was also called upon as intercessor to assure the receiving of the sacraments of Penance and the

Holy Eucharist at the hour of death probably led to this allusion by Luther.

¹⁴¹ A popular pre-Reformation hymn; see Wackernagel, II, 44; Koch I, 208.

Nu bitten wir den heiligen Geist, umb den rechten glauben aller meist, das er uns behüte an unserm ende, wenn wir heim faren aus diesem elende. Kyrieleys.

To this stanza Luther added the following some time after the writing of the *Formula missae* and published the revised hymn in 1524:

Du werdes liecht gib uns deinen schein, lern uns Ihesum Christ kennen allein, Das wir an jn bleiben, dem trewen heiland der uns bracht hat, zum rechten vaterland. Kyrieleys.

Du süsse lieb schenck uns deine gunst, las uns empfinden der liebe brunst, Das wir uns von hertzen einander lieben, und ym friede auff einem sinn bleiben. Kyrieleys.

Du höchster tröster jnn aller not, hilff das wir nicht fürchten schand noch tod, Das jnn uns die sinnen nich verzagen, wenn der feind wird das leben verklagen. Kyrieleys.

See Kirchenbuch No. 139; also Annotations on Luther's Hymns in this volume.

¹⁴² A Christmas hymn of the Reformation period; authorship unknown; first appeared in *Enchiridion*, Zwickau, 1528; from there taken over into other early Reformation hymnals, for example the first Leipzig hymn book, *Enchiridion Geistlicher Gesenge*, etc., printed by Michael Blum, 1530. Text quoted from this latter book. See also Wackernagel, III, 520.

Ein kindelein so löblich, ist uns geporen heute, Von einer Jungfraw sewberlich, zu trost uns armen leuten. Wer uns das kindlein nicht geporn, so weren wir allzumal verloren, das heil ist unser alle, Ey du susser Jhesu Christ, das du mensch geporen bist, behüt uns fur der helle.

Die zeit ist nu gar freudenreich, zu lobe gottes namen, Das Christus von dem himelreich, auff erden ist gekommen. Es ist ein gros demutigkeit, die Gott von himel bey uns thet, ein knecht ist er gewarden, on alle sunde uns gleich, dadurch wir werden ewig reich, tregt unser sunde bürden.

Wol dem der dis gleuben ist, mit gantzem hertzen trawen, dem wird die seligkeit gewis, wol den die darauff bawen. Das Christus hat genug gethan fur uns darumb er ausgegangen, von Gott dem ewigen vater. O wunder uber wunderthat, Christus tregt unser missethat, und stillet unsern haddern.

Des danck jm alle Christenheit, fur solche grosse güte, und bite sein barmhertzigkeit, das er uns fort behüte, für falscher ler und bösem wahn, daryn wir han lange zeit gestan, er wil uns das vergeben, Gott vater son und heilig geist wir bitten von dir allermeist, las uns im friede leben.

¹⁴³ That is, of the Church Year. Luther spoke of some of the Festivals earlier in this writing; see pp. 86, 87; cf. p. 63.

¹⁴⁴ A Latin term taken over from common use into ecclesiastical and in the latter connection used as a technical term meaning any day of the week which is not a festival and, strictly speaking, not a fast day; although this distinction was not always made, for example, the old sacramentaries speak of Good Friday as *Feria sexta in parasceve*.

A ferial use is a week-day use, or one in contrast to a festival use.

¹⁴⁵ That is the daily Mass, customarily celebrated by the incumbent without communicants.

¹⁴⁶ The eight canonical hours of daily prayer and the eight offices to

be recited at these hours. They were Matins, Lauds, Prime, Tierce, Sext, Nones, Vespers, and Compline.

These Offices and the various appointments or "propers" comprised the *Roman Breviary*. See Durandus, V, cc. 1-10.

Luther's reference here to "Matins of three lessons" is to the ferial office when but one Nocturn was said; at the Sunday or Festival Office of Matins, three Nocturns were said. The Breviary speaks of a Nocturn as "Watch of the Night"; Matins would normally be said after Midnight and before Dawn. A Nocturn consisted of a group of Psalms with proper Antiphons, three Lessons and three Responsories; the Sunday or Festival Matins had three Nocturns, therefore nine Lessons and nine Responsories. Cf. *Breviarium Romanum*, either Sunday at Matins, or the Propers *de tempore*, etc. For convenience see *The Roman Breviary*, translated by the Marquess of Bute, Vol. I, 4ff, Sunday at Matins, and 180, Propers for Advent Sunday.

¹⁴⁷ In Cathedral and some parish churches Matins and Vespers, the latter with Compline following immediately, were said "in choir," that is in the church publicly; and these hours were attended more or less by devoted lay-folk.

Reformation usage crystallized in the public use of Matins and Vespers. Lauds and Prime were combined with Matins to form the Matin Office; and Compline was combined with Vespers to form the Vesper Office. As Luther writes, these Hours were almost entirely composed of Scriptural elements; although some of the variable propers, such as, Responsories, Antiphons, and Lectons composed of legendary histories, were quite the opposite and inspired the strong opposition of Luther and others against their continuance.

¹⁴⁸ A *de tempore* use is one proper to a Season.

¹⁴⁹ That is the propers for the Hours of Saints' Days, which in most cases were especially obnoxious to Luther.

¹⁵⁰ Quite frankly Luther expresses his favor for retention of daily Matins and Vespers in a number of his writings because of their educational value to the youth. His idea was to have them participate actively in these services both in singing and reading, thereby making them acquainted with, and fluent in, Latin and also the Scriptures.

¹⁵¹ The whole Psalter was so parceled out among the daily Hours that in the course of a week all of the Psalms were said.

¹⁵² There are three anthem-form responses in the course of the Services which are similar in structure but quite different in purpose. They are the Introit and Gradual of the Mass and the Responsory of the Hours. Reference has been made to the Introit and Gradual above. The Gradual and Responsory are both connected with liturgical lessons, thus being similar in use, but they differ in content. The Gradual usually is composed of Psalm verses, though this is not invariable, but always of Scripture; and the *Vers*e is taken from the context. On the other hand the Responsory is seldom composed of Psalm verses and frequently is made up of passages which are not Scripture at all and its *Vers*e is not usually taken from the context. The unique feature of the Responsory is its "Answer" or "Resumption" which appears here and there throughout the text. This is taken up in the course of the Responsory and fitted in very cleverly, proving this feature to have been designed. Another feature is the brief form of the *Gloria Patri*; the "As it was, etc." is omitted. Some commentators claim this to be proof of the antiquity of the Responsory as the *Sicut erat*, etc. came into rather general use only about the sixth century. The number and variety of the Responsories is remarkable; their unscripturalness inspired Luther's advice.

See C.S.B., p 191ff.

¹⁵³ It does not take any great amount of imagination to realize that

this sentence was born of the experience of the past. The compulsory use of the Hours of the Breviary, notwithstanding the wealth and variety of material, all too soon became mere mechanical and monotonous repetition without spiritual value to say nothing of the proper spirit of approach to, and worship of, God.

¹⁶⁴ Over against the Breviary appointment of the Psalter,—as in Luther's day: to be said through once every week,—a Reformation use gradually took form. This eventuated in a rather arbitrary division of the Psalter, Psalms 1-100 being appointed for Matins, Psalms 101-150 for Vespers. However certain High Days retained their customary "proper" Psalms.

Furthermore Luther favored a continuous reading of the Scriptures chapter by chapter of book after book. Cf. his other major liturgical writings. While this suggestion was experimented with in some places and carried out thoroughly in others, it fortunately did not displace the proper liturgical Epistles and Gospels.

¹⁶⁵ See *Von ordnung gotts diensts*; translation this volume, p. 60ff.

¹⁶⁶ See *Von ordnung gottis diensts* and Note 154 above.

¹⁶⁷ Homilia,—brief expositions of the Scriptures read. Capitulum,—technical name for the short Scripture passage read,—"The Chapter."

Luther carries both the reading and exposition back to Apostolic precedent, which is, of course, well authenticated.

¹⁶⁸ But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us. Response: Thanks be to God. The Respond after the Lesson. Cf. C.S.B. *in loco*.

¹⁶⁹ See Julian, *Dict. of Hymnology*, p. 1119.

¹⁷⁰ Latin, unctioni,—unction—"the unction from above." Speratus' translation is interpretive: Wo nicht, wist yhrs besser zu machen, so wollen wir ewrem geyst, der euch salbet vnd leret, gern stat geben.

¹⁷¹ That is, a source of wealth.

¹⁷² Luther is referring to Matthew Beszkav, Johann Dolsch, George Elner and Johann Volmar.

THE CANON OF THE MASS

From

CONCERNING THE ABOMINATION OF
LOW MASS

CANON MISSAE

From

VOM GREUEL DER STILLMESSE

1525

CANON MISSAE
THE CANON OF THE MASS
From the Pamphlet
VOM GREUEL DER STILLMESSE
(1525)

INTRODUCTION

Luther had entered the field of liturgical reform with some personal contributions which were far-reaching in their influence.¹ His *Formula missae*, published late in 1523, had been received as a norm for the cleansing and continuance of the accustomed services of the Church. But this notwithstanding, agitation in these matters by others, both in harmony with Luther and not in harmony with him, kept the subject constantly to the fore. In some cases the conservative suggestions made by Luther were not acceptable because even these went too far; in others they were not satisfactory because they had not gone far enough. Between the two Luther stood, not to remain on the conservative middle ground, but to assault the one group with all of his ever-growing feeling against the superstitions and abominations with which the worship was cluttered and the people enshrouded, and eventually to yield to the other group in a document such as the *Deutsche Messe* where the break with the conservative past in spirit and in fact is demonstrated to the full.

The *Vom Greuel der Stillmesse* appeared in the course of the second year after the *Formula* and the year before the *Deutsche Messe*. It is no gentle or kindly document. It is revelatory of the Luther-transition in things liturgical between the time of the *Formula* and the time of the *Messe*. The Luther of the former period, while condemning the "abominations," etc., of the Canon, would have written in a far gentler fashion. Since that time Luther had been in

almost continual controversy in one place or another over matters related to the worship of the Church: the Mass,—the Canon of the Mass, holding pretty much the center all of the time; this seems to have been his pet aversion.

A situation had arisen at Wittenberg which centered in this very thing. This had been forced by the attitude of some of the clergy of the *Stiftskirche* who resisted abrogation of the Mass. The *Vom Gruel der Stillmesse* arose in this situation; just when cannot be definitely established; but the document is generally supposed to be a rewriting of a sermon which Luther delivered against the clergy November 27, 1524—Advent Sunday.³

The writing is not only interesting but liturgically very valuable.

It is interesting because of the comments made by Luther on each part of the *Canon missae*. They are typical of his method of handling men and things with which he had no sympathy; and that means that his comments are not always in good spirit or good taste or fair.

The value of the document consists in this. The backbone of the writing is the Canon of the Mass which Luther had used in days gone by, with which he was thoroughly familiar;—it is the Canon of the Mass Book of his day. This he translated into German, and his translation in every respect is an honest one. He did not allow his feelings to bias his faithful rendition of the Latin original in German.

Familiarity with the Canon of the Mass as used by Luther is requisite for any study of his liturgical activity as well as to enable a valuation of his opinions and suggestions relative to these matters. It is fortunate that the Canon has been printed in one of his own writings, put there deliberately by himself, and especially so because he took the trouble to translate it. The Mass Books of the Luther period are rare, especially those in which the *Canon missae* is printed. For this reason this document which contains the text with which Luther was familiar, which he himself had used in his earlier ministration, is of great liturgical importance.

It must be remembered always that the translation which follows is made from the Luther translation of the Latin and that it has been made without reference to the Latin text. Further no attempt has been made to "smoothe out"

the translation or to approximate a liturgical style,—the English is the equivalent of the German.

The *Canon missae* of the first printed Missal, Milan 1474, is printed in a parallel column in order to facilitate comparison. This will prove a very interesting study and also reveal the fact that the Canon of Luther's own Mass Book did not depart from this of Milan in any particular. Except for the transposition of a word in one of the later sections the Canon of Milan 1474 is exactly, word for word, the Canon of the *Missale Romanum* in use today. As our interest in this pamphlet is a liturgical one only, the Canon alone has been translated.

For Text see Weimar 18:22ff.

PAUL ZELLER STRODACH

NOTES ON INTRODUCTION TO THE CANON OF THE MASS

¹ See the Introductions to the *Taufbuchlin*, the *Von ordenung*, the *Formula missae*, and the General Introduction in this volume.

² See the Introduction to this pamphlet in Weimar 18:8ff.

CANON MISSAE

THE CANON OF THE MASS

As Luther translated it into German and quoted it in his pamphlet

VOM GREUEL DER STILLMESSE

(1525)

Translation of Luther's
German text

Canon Missae from the
Milan Missal, 1474

¶ Thus beginneth the holy Canon¹
or the Secret Mass.²

We humbly beseech Thee, most gracious Father, through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, that Thou wilt deign to be pleased with and bless these gifts, this offering, this holy, unspotted sacrifice, which we offer Thee especially for Thy holy, universal, Christian Church,³ for which do Thou provide peace, protect her, help her, and rule her throughout all the world, together with Thy servant our Pope, N., and our Bishop, N., and all true believers, and those who are of the Christian⁴ and Apostolic faith.
(W 18:24, 25)

¶ Prayer for the living.⁵

Remember, O Lord, Thy servants and handmaidens, N., and all who are here present, whose faith is known to Thee and of whose devotion Thou art sensible, for whom we offer to Thee, or who themselves offer to Thee this sacrifice of praise for themselves and for all their own, for the redemption of their souls, in the hope of their salvation and health, and pay their vow to Thee, the eternal, living, true God.
(W 18:26)

Te igitur clementissime pater per iesum christum filium tuum dominum nostrum supplices rogamus ac petimus, uti accepta habeas et benedicas. hec dona. hec munera. hec sancta sacramenta illibata. In primis que tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica. quam pacificare. custodire. adunare. et regere digneris. toto orbe terrarum. una cum famulo tuo papa nostro. N. et antistite nostro N. et omnibus orthodoxis. atque catholice et apostolice fidei cultoribus.
(Milan⁵ I:206)

¶ Oratio pro uiuis.⁶

Memento domine famulorum famularumque tuarum. N. et omnium circumstantium. quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota deuotio. pro quibus tibi offerimus uel qui offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis. pro se suisque omnibus. pro redemptione animarum suarum. pro spe salutis et incolumitatis sue tibi reddunt uota sua eterno deo uiuo et uero.

(Milan I:206)

¶ During the consecration⁷ he introduces the impious, unfit prayer, which can in no way be reconciled with the Mass.⁸

Those with whom we have communion, whose memory we honor, especially the greatly to be praised and ever-virgin Mary, the Mother of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and also Thy holy Apostles and Martyrs Peter, Paul, Andrew, Jacob, John, Thomas, Jacob, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurentius, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmus and Damian, and all Thy saints, through whose merit and intercession do Thou grant that we may be guarded at all times through the help of Thy protection, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.

(W 18:27)

¶ During the consecration.

Therefore we pray, Lord, that Thou wilt graciously receive this sacrifice of our service, and in addition also all (sacrifices) of Thy servants, and complete our days in Thy peace and rescue us from eternal damnation and command us to be numbered in the company of Thy elect, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

(W 18:27)

¶ A prayer.

Which sacrifice, we pray, O God, do Thou in all things make blessed, write it down to our account,⁹ make it effective, reasonable and pleasing, that it may become for us the body and blood of Thy most dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. (W 18:28)

Communicantes et memoriam uenerantes. In primis gloriose semperque uirginis marie genetricis dei et domini iesu christi. Sed beatorum apostolorum et martirum tuorum. Petri. Pauli Andree Iacobi Ioannis Thome Iacobi Filippi Bartolomei Mathei Simonis et Thadei Lini Cleti Clementis Sixti Cornelii Cipriani Laurentii Grisogoni Iohannis et Pauli Cosme et Damiani. Et omnium sanctorum tuorum quorum meritis precibusque concedas. ut in omnibus protectionis tue muniamus auxilio. Per eundem christum dominum nostrum. Amen. (Milan I:206, 207)

¶ Infra actionem.

Hanc igitur oblationem seruitutis nostre. sed et cuncte familie tue. quesumus domine ut placatus accipias. diesque nostros in tua pace disponas. atque ab eterna damnatione mos eripi. et in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari. Per christum dominum nostrum. amen. (Milan I:207)

(No rubric)

Quam oblationem tu deus in omnibus benedictam. ascriptam ratam. rationabilem acceptabilemque facere digneris. ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui domini nostri iesu christi. (Milan I:207)

¶ Here he takes the host in his hands and says

Who the next day before His passion took the bread in His holy and worthy hands, and with eyes lifted up to heaven to Thee O God, His almighty Father, gave Thee thanks, blessed, brake, and gave to His disciples and said, Take and eat of this all ye, for this is My Body. (W 18:28)

¶ Here he lays down the host and lifts up the cup and says

In the same manner, after they had eaten that evening, He also took this glorious cup in His holy and worthy hands, and He gave thanks to Thee again, blessed, and gave it to His disciples and said, Take and drink out of it all ye, for this is the cup of My Blood of the new testament, a mystery of the faith, which is shed for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins, as oft as ye do this, ye shall do it to my memory.

¶ Here he puts down the cup.
(W 18:29)

Therefore, Lord, we Thy servants also Thy holy People, remember both the holy passion, and also the resurrection from hell, and also the glorious ascension into heaven of Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, and offer to Thy glorious Majesty of Thy presents and gifts a pure offering,³⁰ a holy offering, a spotless offering, the holy bread of eternal life and the cup of eternal salvation.
(W 18:29)

¶ Hic accipiat hostiam in manibus dicendo

Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit panem in sanctas ac uenerabiles manus suas. et eleuatis oculis in celum ad te deum patrem suum omnipotentem. tibi gratias agens benedixit. fregit. deditque discipulis suis dices Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes

¶ IHC EST ENIM CORPUS MEUM.

(Milan I:207)

¶ Illic deponat hostiam. et leuet calicem dicens

Simili modo postquam cenatum est accipiens et hunc preclarum calicem in sanctas ac uenerabiles manus suas. Item tibi gratias agens. benedixit deditque discipulis suis dicens. Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes.

¶ IHC EST ENIM CALIX SANGUINIS MEI NOUI ET ETERNI TESTAMENTI MYSTERIUM FIDEI QUI PRO VOBIS ET PRO multis EFFUNDETUR IN REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM. IHC QUOTIENS CUNQUE FECERITIS IN MEI MEMORIAM FACIETIS.

¶ Hic deponit calicem.
(Milan I:207)

Unde et memores domine nos serui tui. sed et plebs tua sancta christi filii tui domini nostri tam beate passionis. nec non et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed in celos gloriose ascensionis offerimus preclare maiestati tue de tuis donis ac datis. hostiam puram. hostiam sanctam. hostiam immaculatam. panem sanctum uite eterne. et calicem salutis perpetue.

(Milan I:207, 208)

¶ A prayer.

Upon which mayest Thou look with gracious and benign countenance, and let them be pleasing unto Thee, as Thou didst permit the gift of Thy righteous servant Abel to be pleasing unto Thee, and the sacrifice of our forefather Abraham, and that which was offered unto Thee by Thy high priest Melchizedek, a holy sacrifice and spotless victim.

(W 18:30)

¶ Here he bows and says

We humbly beseech Thee, Almighty God, command that this be carried by the hands of Thy holy Angel to Thy lofty altar before the face of Thy Divine Majesty, so that all of us who partake of this altar's communion of the most holy Body and Blood of Thy Son, may be filled with all heavenly blessing and grace, through the same Christ, our Lord. Amen. (W 18:30)

¶ Remembrance of the departed.

Remember also, Lord, Thy servants and handmaidens, N., who have departed from us with the mark of the faith and sleep in the sleep of peace, for these and all who rest in Christ, we pray, Lord, grant them a place of refreshment, of light and peace, through the same Christ, our Lord. (W 18:31)

¶ Here he smites on his breast and says somewhat loudly

And also to us sinners, Thy servants, who hope in the multitude of Thy mercy, do Thou grant a share and fellowship with Thy holy Apostles and Martyrs, with John, Stephen,

Vol. VI.—9.

¶ Oratio.

Supra que propitio ac sereno ultu respicere digneris et accepta habere sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti abel, et sacrificium patriarche nostri abrae. et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus melchisedech sanctum sacrificium immaculatam hostiam.

(Milan I:208)

¶ Hic inclinet se et dicat
(Oratio)

Supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus iube hec perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectu divine maiestatis tue. ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui corpus. et sanguinem sumpserimus omni benedictione celesti et gratia repleamur. Per eundem christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

(Milan I:208)

¶ Oration pro defunctis.

Memento etiam domine famulorum famularumque tuarum. N. qui nos precesserunt cum signo fidei. et dormiunt in somno pacis. ipsis domine et omnibus in christo quiescentibus. locum refrigerii lucis et pacis. ut indulgeas deprecamur. Per eundem christum dominum nostrum. amen.

(Milan I:208)

¶ Hic percutiat pectus suum aliquantulum altius dicens

Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris. cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martiribus. cum Iohanne Ste-

Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia, and with all Thy saints, to which communion, we pray, do Thou permit us entrance, not as one regarding merit, but as one who forgives, through Christ, our Lord.

(W 18:31)

Through whom Thou, Lord, always createst all these good gifts, sanctifiest, quickenest, blest, and givest them to us; through Him, and with Him, and in Him, Thou, God, Almighty Father, hast all glory and praise in the unity of the Holy Spirit.

(W 18:31)

Through all ages of ages.
Response: Amen.

Let us pray. That which through the salutary commandment and under divine instruction we have been taught, we do say:

Our Father in heaven . . .
Response: And deliver us from evil.

We beseech Thee, Lord, deliver us from all evil, past, present, and future, and through the intercession of the blessed and highly praised ever-virgin, the Mother of God, Mary, and Thy blessed Apostles, Peter, Paul, and Andrew, together with all saints, graciously grant us also peace in our days, so that we may be aided by the help of Thy mercy and may at all times be free from sin and secure from all manner of affliction.

(W 18:32)

¶ Here he breaks the host first in two parts and says

Through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy Son

phano Mathia Barnaba Ignatio Alexandro Marcelino Petro Felicitate Perpetua Agatha Lucia Agnete Cecilia Anastasia et omnibus sanctis tuis. intra quorum nos consortium. non estimator meriti sed uenie. quesumus largitor admitte. Per christum dominum nostrum.

(Hic non dicitur amen)
(Milan I:208)

Per quem hec omnia domine semper bona creas. sanctificas, uiuificas. benedixisti et prestas nobis. Per ipsum. et cum ipso. et in ipso. est tibi deo patri omnipotenti. in unitate spiritus sancti omnis honor et gloria.

(Milan I:208, 209)

Per omnia secula seculorum.
R. Amen.

Oremus. Preceptis salutaribus moniti. et diuina institutione formati. audemus dicere.

Pater noster qui es in celis. . .
R. Sed libera nos a malo. amen.

Libera nos quesumus domine ab omnibus malis preteritis. presentibus et futuris. et intercedente beata et gloriosa semper uirgine dei genitrice maria. et beatis apostolis tuis petro et paulo atque andrea et omnibus sanctis. Da propitius pacem in diebus nostris. ut ope misericordie tue adiuti. et a peccato simus semper liberi. et ab omni perturbatione securi.

(Milan I:209)

¶ Hic frangit hostiam primo in duas partes dicens

Per eundem dominum nostrum iesum Christum filium tuum.

¶ Then he breaks the one part into two parts and says

Who with Thee, God, liveth and reigneth in the unity of the Holy Spirit.

¶ Then he lifts the third part with the cup a little and says

Through all the ages of ages.
Response: Amen.

¶ Then he makes the sign of the cross over the blood and says

The peace of the Lord be with you at all times.
Response: And with thy spirit.

¶ Here he lays a piece of the host in the blood and says

This mixture and consecrating of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ must²¹ nourish us who receive it to eternal life. Amen. (W 18:32)

(Luther omits Agnus dei which follows here)²²

¶ Then he prays again for peace, bows himself before the body of the Lord, and says

Lord Jesus Christ, Who didst say to Thy apostles, My peace give I to you, peace I leave with you, Do not Thou regard my sin but the faith of Thy Church, and grant her peace according to Thy will, and hold her together,²³ Thou Who livest and reignest, God, always and eternally. Amen. (W 18:33)

¶ Then he kisses the altar.²⁴

¶ Deinde frangit unam partem in duas partes dicens

Qui tecum uiuat et regnat in unitate spiritus sancti deus.

¶ Hic eleuet modicum tertiam partem cum calice dicens

Per omnia secula seculorum.
R. Amen.

¶ Hic facit signum crucis super sanguinem dicens

Pax domini. sit semper uobiscum.
R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

¶ Hic ponat particulam hostie in sanguine dicens

Fiat commixtio et consecratio corporis et sanguinis domini nostri iesu christi. Accipientibus nobis uitam eternam amen. (Milan I:209, 210)

Sequitur. Agnus dei

¶ Hic inclinatur ante corpus domini dicens

Domine iesu christe. qui dixisti apostolis tuis pacem meam do uobis pacem relinquo uobis ne respicias peccata mea. sed fidem ecclesie tue. eamque secundum uoluntatem tuam pacificare. et coadunare dignare. Qui uiuis et regnas deus. per omnia secula seculorum amen. (Milan I:210)

¶ Hic deosculatur altare dicens
Pax tecum
R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

A prayer.

Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, Who according to the Father's will through the co-operation of the Holy Spirit hast quickened the world through Thy death, redeem me through this Thy holy Body and Blood from all my sin and all evil, and grant that I may cling to Thy commandments at all times, and let me never be separated therefrom, Thou Who with the same God the Father and Holy Ghost livest and reignest ever and eternally. Amen.

(W 18:34)

A prayer.

May the reception of Thy body, Lord Jesus Christ, which I unworthy one am about to receive, result not in my judgment and condemnation, but aid me according to Thy goodness to the protection of my spirit and body, and be received as a (salutary) medicine, Thou Who livest and reignest with God the Father, etc.

¶ Here he takes the paten with the body of Christ and says

I will take the heavenly bread and call on the name of the Lord.

¶ Then he beats three times on his breast and says

Lord, I am not worthy that Thou shouldest come under my roof, but say it only with one word, then my soul will be well.

¶ Then he takes the body with great reverence and signs himself therewith.¹⁴

The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul to eternal life. Amen. (W 18:34)

Oratio

Domine iesu christe fili dei uiui qui ex uoluntate patris co-operante spiritu sancto per mortam tuam mundum uiuificasti libera me per hoc sacrificium corpus et sanguinem tuum. ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis et uniuersis malis. et fac me tuis semper inherere mandatis. et a te nunquam separari permittas. Qui cum eodem deo patre et spiritu sancto uiuis et regnas in secula seculorum amen.

(Milan I:210)

Oratio

Perceptio corporis tui domine iesu christe quam ego indignus sumere presumo. non michi proueniat in iudicium. et condemnationem. sed pro tua pietate prosit michi ad tutamentum mentis et corporis et ad medelam percipiendam. Qui uiuis et regnas cum deo patre. et cetera.

¶ Hic accipitur patena cum corpore christi

Panem celestem accipiam et nomen domini inuocabo.

¶ Hic percutiat ter pectus dicens.

Domine non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum sed tantum dic uerbo et sanabitur anima mea.

¶ Hic sumat corpus reuerenter signans se illo dicens.

Corpus domini nostri iesu christ custodiat animam meam in uitam eternam amen.

(Milan I:210, 211)

¶ Then he takes the cup and says

What shall I recompense the Lord for all His benefits with which He has blessed me?

I will take the cup of salvation and call on the name of the Lord. I will call on the Lord with praise, thus will I be saved from my enemies.

¶ Then he takes the blood to himself and says

The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul to eternal life.

¶ When he has received the blood he says

That which we have received with the mouth, that let us also receive in the heart, and may the temporal gifts become an eternal medicine for us. Amen.

Lord, may Thy Body, which I have received, and that Blood, which I have drunk, cling to my inward being, and grant that no spot of evil remain in me whom the pure and holy sacrament has refreshed.

(W 18:35)

¶ When the Mass is completed, and the Blessing is given, he bows himself before the middle of the altar, and says this prayer, afterward he kisses the altar.

Let our service be pleasing unto Thee, O Holy Trinity, and grant that the sacrifice which I unworthy one have offered before the Presence of Thy Majesty may be pleasing unto Thee and through Thy mercy make satisfaction for me and for those for whom I have offered it, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

(W 18:35)

¶ Hic accipiat calicem et dicat.

Quid retribuam domino pro omnibus que retribuit michi. Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen domini inuocabo. Laudans inuocabo dominum et ab inimicis meis saluus ero.

¶ Hic sumat sanguinem dicens.

Sanguis domini nostri iesu christi custodiat animam meam in uitam eternam amen.

¶ Post sumptionem sanguinis dicat.

Quod ore sumpsimus domine. pura mente capiamus. et de munere temporali. fiat nobis remedium sempiternum amen.

¶ Hic dicit purificando.

Corpus tuum domine quod sumpsi et sanguis quem potavi. adhereat uisceribus meis et presta. ut in me non remaneat scelerum macula quem pura et sancta refecerunt sacramenta. Qui uiuis.

(Milan I: 211)

¶ Finita missa et data benedictione inclinatur ante medium altaris et dicta hanc orationem. qua finita osculatur altare.

Placeat tibi sancta trinitas obsequium seruitutis mee. et presta. ut sacrificium quod oculis tue maiestatis indignus obtuli tibi sit acceptable michique et omnibus pro quibus illud obtuli. sit te miserante propitiabile. Per christum dominum nostrum amen.

(Milan I: 211)

NOTES ON THE CANON OF THE MASS

¹ The invariable part of the Liturgy of the Mass in which the consecration of the bread and wine is effected.

² Stillmesse—Used in the title of the pamphlet where Luther means "The Abomination of the Canon of the Mass"; and here where he means that part which is said at the altar either almost inaudibly or in secret. The term is capable of a third meaning—Low Mass, i.e., a *said* Mass with a modicum of ceremony but this is not in place here; the emphasis is on *secret*, i.e., that which the people could not, or were not intended to hear.

³ *deyne heylige gemeyne Christliche Kirche . . .*

⁴ *Christlichen—catholice.*

⁵ The Milan Missal of 1474 is the first printed missal. The period is used indiscriminately for comma, colon and semi-colon; the *u* is used both for *u* and *v*; *e* many times covers the diphthong which would be used in later spelling.

⁶ In the old Missales the rubrics are brief and simple always. Luther has translated them exactly in all cases but one.

The minute directions for the priest for the celebration of Mass appeared in other books such as a Directorium or an Instruction. The modern Missal prints many of these in the text of the Canon and others in the General Rubrics.

⁷ *Dyrmunge*—The specific portion of the Canon during which, whereby, the consecration is effected.

⁸ Luther's remark!

⁹ Luther—*angeschriben—ascriptam*. This has been long acknowledged to be the most difficult passage in the Canon, one not only difficult to translate but more to interpret. There have been many attempts at the latter; almost every commentator on the Mass of any importance advances his own. Dr. Fortesque translates, "This our offering, do thou, O God, vouchsafe in all things to bless, consecrate, approve, make reasonable and acceptable. . . ."

¹⁰ *Opfer—hostiam—the sacrificial victim.*

¹¹ *Müsse.*

¹² See *Formula missae* this volume, p. 91.

¹³ See *zusamen halten*—preserve her,—keep her united.

¹⁴ The *pax*—salutation is omitted.

¹⁵ That is, he communicates himself after crossing himself with the consecrated Host.

A PREFACE
SUGGESTED FOR USE AT THE
HOLY COMMUNION

1525

A PREFACE SUGGESTED FOR USE AT THE HOLY COMMUNION

(1525)

INTRODUCTION

This suggested "Preface" for use at the vernacular celebration of Holy Communion, appended to a letter addressed to Nicolaus Hausmann, belongs late in the liturgical agitation period between the publishing of the *Formula missae* and the appearance of the *Deutsche Messe*. It is not to be regarded as a finished "form," but as a suggestion or model for Hausmann's further action.

During this period vernacular Masses had appeared at a number of places; the movement to change from the Latin use, even though it were "reformed" according to Luther suggestions, to German had not only gained momentum but had spread. Some of these Masses represented important contributions to the desired objective; others were open to question. Hausmann's interest in liturgical reform is well known.¹ In March, 1525, he sent examples of a number of these Masses to Luther; the probability is that he included among these one of his own making. He was seeking criticism and advice: whether any of these services might be acceptable or not, or considered as a model, or even be used.

The letter herewith is Luther's reply to Hausmann. It is dated Laetare Sunday (March 26), 1525. Accompanying the letter was another sheet on which Luther had written the suggested "Preface."

It will be apparent immediately that this is not the historic, liturgical *Preface*,² but that it is quite evidently intended to displace the historic *Preface*, and is an entirely new element injected into the Communion Office.

A tendency toward a pastoral exhortation to prospective communicants connected immediately with or imbedded in the Communion Office had appeared and already had begun to take form. Luther also had felt the desirability for such an address. Here is his suggestion.

Such an exhortation may have been due to the evangelical interpretation of and emphasis on *communion*, seeking expression over against the sacrificial emphasized in the Offertory and the Canon of the Mass. It may also be an example of the methods pursued in arriving at a simplification of the Mass. But one cannot help wondering whether it is not an evidence of something else, since it appears at this place and is considered the Preface. It is not eucharistic but preparatory. It is not liturgical but homiletical. It carries something of the feeling of being a "filler" where the excision of the Canon¹ had left a great void and baldness, and where, one suspects, this void (removal) was felt. Might it not be an effort to satisfy this feeling of a lack especially since "simplification" removed almost all of the accustomed? But the method considered is neither harmonious, nor does it meet the principles which Luther had laid down as directive in liturgical reform.

The Letter and the "Preface" will be found in

Erlangen 53: 285; 54: 30

Walch 10: 2776f

Weimar 19: 47

St. Louis 10: 2256f

Enders 5: 144

De Wette 2: 635

PAUL ZELLER STRODACH

NOTES ON INTRODUCTION TO A PREFACE SUGGESTED FOR
USE AT THE HOLY COMMUNION

¹ Cf. Introduction to the *Formula missae*, this volume, p. 67ff.

² See the comparative table, this volume, p. 38; and p. 90.

³ See page 89f, this volume.

A PREFACE SUGGESTED FOR USE AT THE HOLY COMMUNION

March 26, 1525

To Nicolaus Hausmann, Pastor at Zwickau.

Grace and peace. I am returning the Masses herewith, and am agreed that they shall be sung in this manner; but it does not please me at all that the Latin notes are retained over the German text. I explained to this publisher the manner in which to sing German: this I would like very much to have introduced here.

The Catechism, as I said before, has been entrusted to its authors. I still owe a reply against *The Free Will*,¹ but I am pushed and bothered so much by my tormentors, the printers, that I am compelled to put them off.

I desire the Preface to be quite short, and, meanwhile you can use the one on the accompanying slip in case you do not want to arrange a better one.

Take good care of yourself, and pray for me, unfortunate creature.

Wittenberg, on Laetare Sunday, 1525.

Martin Luther

(On the accompanying slip)

The Preface, which, as I remember, began there in Latin: *Dominus vobiscum* (The Lord be with you), *Sursum corda* (Lift up your hearts) etc.—on account of which also it was named *The Preface* (Foreword, Introduction), may be said in German as follows:

Dearest Friends in Christ: You know that our Lord Jesus Christ, out of unspeakable love, instituted at the last this, His Supper, as a memorial and declaration of His death suffered for our sins. To which commemoration belongs a sure faith which makes every heart and conscience, which

desires to use and partake [of this Supper], sure and certain that this death was suffered by Christ for all his sins.

But where someone doubts this and does not experience such faith in some manner, he should realize that this Supper is no help for him but harmful, and should stay away from it. Which faith, since we cannot see it and it is known only to God, we desire to put on the conscience of him who comes, and simply allow it to rest on his asking and desire.

But such as remain fast in open sins, such as avarice, hatred, anger, envy, usury, impurity and the like, and are not resolved to cease [these things], to these this [Supper]¹ is herewith refused, and they are warned faithfully not to come, in order that they do not fetch a judgment and harm on their souls as St. Paul says I Cor. 11:29.

Still if someone has fallen through weakness and has shown by his acts that he earnestly desires to better himself, this grace and communion of the Body and Blood of Christ shall not be denied him. In this fashion each one must judge himself, and knows how to, and how to take good heed; for "God does not permit himself to be mocked," Gal. 6:7; also He will not give the holy thing to the dogs, nor permit the pearls to be thrown to swine, Matt. 7:6.

NOTE ON A PREFACE SUGGESTED FOR USE AT THE
HOLY COMMUNION

¹ By Erasmus.

EXHORTATION TO THE CHRISTIANS IN
LIVONIA CONCERNING PUBLIC WORSHIP
AND UNITY

VERMAHNUNG AN DIE CHRISTEN IN LIEF-
LAND VOM AEUSZERLICHEN GOTTESDIENST
UND EINTRACHT

1525

EXHORTATION TO THE CHRISTIANS IN LIVONIA CONCERNING PUBLIC WORSHIP AND UNITY

INTRODUCTION

Melchior Hoffmann is the central figure in connection with this document.

He was a lay-preacher of great power, whole-souled in his allegiance to the Gospel, thoroughly in harmony with the Reformation, but a mystic and allegorist,—the last fostered by his many trying experiences. He was ripe to respond to the influences of the enthusiasts; but his devotion was unquestioned; he was utterly selfless.

He had been driven out of Wolmar late in 1524 and had gone to Dorpat. There he assumed the work of an Evangelical pastor who, too, had been driven from his parish. Hoffmann was well received. His straightforward preaching drew the opposition of the Roman episcopal authorities, who strove to expel him from the city; but Hoffmann's followers rose in his defense. This took the form of riotous excesses which culminated on January 10, 1525, in attacks on churches and cloisters in which altars, pictures, etc., were ruthlessly destroyed. As soon as this turbulent state of affairs had been calmed, the Evangelical Council determined to organize and harmonize external conditions in Evangelical circles,—conditions which in themselves presented a sad state of disharmony. Hoffmann's commanding position made him the leading personality to be considered in making this reform effective; his co-operation at least was necessary. But the Council was not satisfied as to his theological fitness. In order to meet this requirement Hoffmann sought the recommendation of nearby men prominent in the Reformation Movement. After his first efforts had proven unsatisfactory, he went to Wittenberg, arriving in June, 1525, in order to obtain Luther's assistance.

In response to this, Luther wrote the letter here translated. To it, Bugenhagen, who was well acquainted in Livon-

ian circles, added a letter of his own; and Hoffman was permitted to add a "pastoral" letter to these two.

It is interesting to note how Luther entered this situation. His letter is not a commendation of Hoffmann but an exhortation to the clergy and people concerned, dealing with their worship practices. In it he exhorts them to a unity of purpose which is selfless and to a conformity of practice in church worship which makes unto the edification of the whole body.

Luther had expressed himself frequently in the past on these matters, and had clung faithfully to his ideal, which he was convinced was thoroughly the Christian teaching. But the results of this teaching had risen to vex him in scandalizing situations in more than one place.

Externalities in worship,—forms of worship, rites, ceremonies, the whole category,—were non-essentials. Freedom in such matters was more than a Christian privilege; it was a Christian right! (One could take them, or leave them; adopt one thing now, change to another at will. Here could be one practice, there another. It is not the form that commends us to God.

But when this all is demonstrated in the life of the Church, when men begin to use their liberty and the wide variety of practice results when one personality asserts his right to do thus and so over against another's opinion and his doing so and thus,—then the state of disorder and disunity which results is a cause of scandal and distress. Such a state of affairs existed in Livonia to an intense degree. Men failed the ideal; the ideal had not failed. The true objective had been displaced; mutual edification had been enshrouded by personal opinion and will.

Without retracting his former statement regarding the freedom of the Christian in externalities of worship, Luther attacked the problem with a further development of his original teaching. The ideal can meet the challenge of the practical. How? By the very fullness of the ideal!

He dismisses the question of control in these matters by Church and canon and points out the ill effect of such a law-controlled practice. The opposite state of affairs,—nothing ordained or established,—works out just as injuriously. But disunion in these practices is unchristian, because it confuses and unsettles the people whose edification must be consid-

ered. Therefore he appeals, that each will surrender his own opinion gladly, freely, and seek a common ground of practice so that "the practice will be the same and uniform among you throughout your district."

"For even if the external uses and regulations are free and, taking faith into consideration, may with good conscience be changed at all places, at all hours, by all persons; still, taking love into consideration, you are not free to use such liberty, but are in duty bound to consider how matters may be made bearable and better for the common people." Here is his bid for uniformity and its basis; but it is not to be accomplished unless the people be first instructed not to regard these matters as required commands. "One is to tell them that it is only done in this fashion in order that they may be edified thereby and preserved in orderly practice, so that the unity of the Christian people may be made stable by means of such external things, which, indeed, in themselves are not necessary."

"Therefore make and hold Mass; sing and read uniformly, according to a common use, the same in one place as in another; because you see that the people so desire and need it, so that they are not disturbed on account of you but are the rather edified."

This all is quite a different story from Luther's previous free attitude,—Luther advising a "common use," a common practice everywhere! It is not his "churchly" feel that inspires this, but his recognition of the age-old fact, that such a situation can be mended only in one practical way, but the method can be, must be, inspired and controlled by the ideal, the spiritual.

The text of the letter, and of the Bugenhagen and Hoffmann letters also, will be found in

Weimar 18:412, 417ff. See this Introduction, also Weimar 19:47, for further historical references.

Erlangen 53:315ff

Walch 10:286ff

Enders 5:198

De Wette 3:3

Realencyc. 38:222 for an excellent biography of Hoffmann.

PAUL ZELLER STRODACH

VERMAHNUNG AN DIE CHRISTEN IN LIEFLAND
VOM AEUSZERLICHEN GOTTESDIENST
UND EINTRACHT

17 Juni, 1525

EXHORTATION TO THE CHRISTIANS IN
LIVONIA CONCERNING PUBLIC WORSHIP
AND UNITY

June 17, 1525

To all beloved Christians in Livonia, together with their pastors and preachers, grace and peace from God, our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

We should thank God, the Father of all mercy, greatly and at all times, on account of you, dear Sirs and Friends, who, according to the unsearchable riches of His grace, has brought you to the treasure of His Word, in which you possess the knowledge of His dear Son, which is a sure pledge of your life and salvation which awaits you in heaven and is prepared for all who persevere faithfully in true faith and fervent love unto the end. Even as we hope and pray that the merciful Father will preserve you and us, and perfect us in one mind, according to the likeness of His dear Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

However I have heard through credible witnesses how faction and disunion have arisen among you also, in this way, that some of your preachers do not teach or act concordantly but according to whatever each one thinks is the best according to his own judgment and will. And I do not

want to believe evil about this, because we must remember that it will not be any better with us than it was with the Corinthians and other Christians at the time of St. Paul, when divisions and dissension arose among Christ's people. Even as St. Paul, himself, acknowledges and says, I Corinthians 11:19, "There must be divisions and sects, so that those who are approved become known." For Satan is not satisfied with being the prince and god of the world, he also wants to be supreme among the children of God, Job 1:9, and "goes about like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour." I Peter 5:8.

Thence arise the complaint and differences among the people, so that one says: "Hardly anyone knows what he should espouse or with whom he should side;" and this notwithstanding, all still want instruction given and maintained everywhere according to one method and in one manner. For which reason the Councils were held in times gone by and a variety of orders and canons were established, so that one could force and keep the whole group of people to one common observance, as a result of which nothing but burdens to the soul and dangerous offences to the faith resulted, so that there is great danger on both sides and need of good spiritual teachers who are able to conduct themselves in this matter with wisdom and discretion and to direct the people.

For if one espouses and ordains a universal custom or use, then one centers one's effort in that and makes out of it a necessary law which is in opposition to the freedom of the faith. But if one ordains and establishes nothing, then one is likely to act rashly and make as many factions as there are heads, a situation which fights against Christian simplicity and unity about which St. Paul and St. Peter teach so frequently. But one must speak about such things in the best way one can, even if matters do not work out the way we speak and teach.

And first of all I hope that the teaching concerning faith, love and cross-bearing, and the summary or principal things in the faith and knowledge of Christ are still pure and undamaged among you, so that you know what things you

should hold in your consciences in your relation to God. And certainly this simplicity of the teaching will not remain unassailed by Satan; indeed, he seeks to slip in by means of external divisions in the matter of ceremonies, and bring about factions both in spirit and in faith, which is just his style, and certainly has been experienced heretofore in so many heresies.

Therefore in the manner in which St. Paul treated his factions, we also will deal with ours. He could not check these with force; nor did he want to coerce them by means of commands; but entreated them with friendly exhortations. For he who will not give up such a matter willingly when exhorted to, will be far less willing to give it up when commanded. But he says in Philippians 2:1, 2, 3, 4: "Is there now among you exhortation in Christ, is there comfort of love, is there fellowship of the Spirit, is there fervent love and mercy, then fulfil my joy, so that ye be of one mind, have the same love, be of one accord and one mind, do nothing through faction or through vainglory but through humbleness. Let each one amongst you consider the other higher than himself, and let not each one look upon his own but on the things of the other." Then add thereto the example of Christ: how He made Himself the servant of everyone, in order to be obedient to the Father.

Accordingly then, in the first place, I exhort your preachers with the same words of St. Paul, that they would regard all the good which we possess in Christ, the comfort, exhortation, Spirit, love and mercy, and in addition the example of Christ, and conduct themselves only to His honor and praise; that they be and remain single-minded, and of one mind and spirit, and recognize the crafty inroad of the devil through vainglory, which is especially dangerous and attacks those chiefly who possess the Office of the Word, which they cannot administer well unless each one despises himself the most and considers himself the lowest but holds the others as the highest, as Christ teaches in the Gospel,— Luke 14:8, "to seat oneself in the lowest place among the guests at the wedding."

Now even if the external regulations in the services,—such as masses, singing, reading, baptizing,—do not add anything to salvation, nevertheless, it is unchristian to be disunited over such things and thereby confuse and unsettle the common people, and not the rather to consider the edification of the people to be more important than our own thought and opinion. Therefore I pray all of you, my dear Sirs, let each one surrender his own opinions and get together in a friendly way and come to a common decision as to how you can unitedly regard these external matters, so that the practice will be the same and uniform among you throughout your district and not so divergent and disordered,—a different thing being done here and a different thing being done there, thereby displeasing and confusing the people and making them unhappy.

For, as has been said, even if the external uses and regulations are free and, taking the faith into consideration, may with good conscience be changed at all places, at all hours, by all persons; still, taking love into consideration, you are not free to use such liberty, but are in duty bound to consider how matters may be made bearable and better for the common people; as St. Paul says, I Corinthians 14: 40, "Let all things be done orderly and honorably among you." And I Corinthians 6: 12, "I have power over all things, but all thing do not profit." And I Corinthians 8: 1, "Knowledge puffs up, but love edifies." And also how he speaks of those who have the knowledge of the faith and of liberty, and yet do not know how they should possess this knowledge, because they do not use it to the edification of the people, but to the praise of their own opinion. Now when your people are offended in that you practice so many different customs and rites and are disturbed thereby, it does not help you any when you are wont to assert: "Yea, the external thing is free; here in my own place I am going to do as pleases me." But you are in duty bound to consider what the effect will be on others and to keep such freedom of faith in the conscience before God, and yet, at the same time, keep it captive for service unto the neighbor's good and edi-

fication, just as Paul says in Romans 15:2, "Let each one conduct himself amongst us in this way, that he please his neighbor unto his good, unto edification." For we should not please ourselves, since Christ also did not please Himself, but us all.

Still in addition to this, the preacher must, none the less, be watchful and admonish the people and instruct them diligently so that they do not accept such common uses as required commands, as though it had to be just so, or as though God would not have it any other way; but that one tell them that it is only done in this fashion in order that they may be edified thereby and preserved in orderly practice, so that the unity of the Christian people may be made stable by means of such external things, which, indeed in themselves, are not necessary. For since ceremonies or usages are not a necessity, as far as conscience or salvation is concerned, and yet are useful and necessary to govern the people outwardly, one should not force them further than this, or permit them to be established further than that they serve to maintain unity and peace among the people. For faith makes peace and unity between God and men.

This is said to the preachers in order that they regard love and their obligation toward the people, and do not employ faith's liberty but love's servitude or submission toward the people, but keep faith's freedom toward God.

Therefore make and hold mass, sing and read uniformly, according to a common use, the same in one place as in another; because you see that the people so desire it and need it, so that they are not disturbed on account of you but are the rather edified. For you are here for their edification, as St. Paul says in I Corinthians 10:23. Authority has been given to us, not for destruction, but for improvement. If you do not need such unity, thank God for that; but the people need it. But what are you other than the servant of the people, as St. Paul says in II Corinthians 1:24. "We are not lords of your faith, but your servants for the sake of Jesus Christ." II Corinthians 4:5.

Again, I also beseech the people to accustom themselves

to these matters and not to be astonished if factions and divisions, uses or teachings make a rupture. For who is able to fight the devil with his own [weapons]? One must remember that tares always grow amidst the good seed, the truth of which fact is shown in every field of God's work and confirmed in the Gospel of Christ, Matthew 13:25. Again, on every threshing-floor there cannot be only clean corn, but there must be also the hulls and the straw. And St. Paul says in II Timothy 2:20, "In a house there are not only vessels of honor but also vessels of dishonor." Out of some one eats and drinks, with others one carries and cleans out the rubbish and filth. Therefore there must also be factions and discordant spirits among the Christians, who pervert faith and love and bewilder the people. Now should a servant become disturbed over the fact that all the cups in the house are not silver and should find some common vessels for ordinary necessities and could not endure such a discovery, what would you make of such a thing? Who can keep house without common vessels?

The same thing is true in Christendom. There are not merely honorable vessels there, but we must suffer the dishonorable vessels also to remain among us, as St. Paul says, I Corinthians 11:19, "There must be factions." And indeed right here in this you are to realize, my dear Friends, that God has given you the true Word and knowledge of Christ when you discover factions and disunion among you. For when you were papistic Satan certainly left you in peace, and if you still had nothing but false teachers he would not assault you very much with discord and faction. But now that the true seed of God's Word is with you, he cannot leave it alone; he must sow his seed there also, even as he does this to us by means of the fanatics. And God tests you thereby to discover whether you want to stand firm.

Nevertheless, both you and your preachers should use all diligence to the end that everything go harmoniously and unitedly and such work of the devil be opposed and checked. For the reason why God destined the devil to do such things is that we may have cause to exercise ourselves in unity and

through that those who are tested may become known. For even if we apply the greatest diligence to this matter, nevertheless factions and disunion will remain. Thus, too, St. Paul, when he says, II Timothy 2:20, "Now if someone cleanse himself from such people, he will be a sanctified vessel to honor, useful to the householder, and prepared for all good work."

This sincere exhortation of mine, my dear Friends, receive kindly, and add thereto, as much as you are able, that you do as exhorted. This is both profitable and needful as far as you are concerned, and to the honor and praise of God who has called you to His light. But may our Lord Jesus Christ, who has begun His work in you, increase the same with grace, and fulfil it to the day of His glorious return, so that you, together with us, may go to meet Him with joy and remain with Him eternally. Amen. Pray for us.

At Wittenberg on the Saturday after Trinity Sunday in the year 1529.

THE GERMAN MASS AND ORDER OF SERVICE

DEUDSCHE MESSE VND ORDNUNG GOTTIS
DIENSTS

1526

THE DEUTSCHE MESSE OF 1526

1. LUTHER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD VERNACULAR SERVICES. That Luther was fully aware of the general movement in the direction of the introduction of German into the public services we well know. In large measure this was but the working out of principles he had proclaimed, the attempt to realize in a practical manner what he had long declared desirable. But now that the movement is well under way, he is far from enthusiastic about it. He counsels moderation and delay, criticizes severely some of the forms which were introduced, and even opposes violently the idea that Services *must* be entirely in the vernacular.

The mystical Luther felt that true Christians ought to be able to worship in spirit without forms or ceremonies. The eminently practical Luther took men as they were, and fully appreciated the necessity of rites and ceremonies in public worship, and, in truth, himself found great pleasure in certain features, e.g. the music. The two Luthers were constantly struggling with each other. The practical and historically grounded, esthetic Luther always triumphed over the mystical Luther in matters connected with public worship. This was indeed fortunate, as it assured a subsequent healthy development which kept its feet on the ground, maintained historic continuity, and accepted the ministry of art in worship. The victory of mysticism would have meant the strengthening of Quakerism, as we now know it, and fanaticism, and the weakening of Protestantism in general. But the struggle was one cause of delay and of seeming lack of enthusiasm.

Admitting the necessity and value of some form and order in worship, Luther dreaded absolute uniformity. He reacted so strongly from medieval ideas of a uniformly imposed order which must be kept, that he inclined to the other extreme. He feared the creation of another rigid system as a substitute for the Roman system. He would have no new shibboleth, as a test for ecclesiastical regularity. He would have no one think that true evangelical Christianity consisted

in using a German Mass instead of the Roman Mass. Liberty, not law, must rule in worship as in other things.

Luther never admitted the absolute necessity of vernacular worship, however desirable he felt it to be. Writing against the fanatics in 1525 he had said that if those who heard Mass understood what the Latin Words of Institution meant, that would be "deutsch oder deutlich in herzen," even if they sung in Latin.¹ The general Renaissance and humanistic movement had developed a strong impulse toward the cultivation of the German language, not only as over against the Latin, but as against the Italian and French languages as well. There was danger in making the introduction of German into public worship simply a part of this humanistic or nationalistic program. German Services alone would not bring the millennium, as so many seemed to expect.

And if, in spite of all these things, vernacular Services must be prepared, Luther realized, as did few others, the greatness of the task. For, at least so far as he was concerned, the new Services must not be something new, a substitute for the historic Service, but the historic Service itself, with as much as possible of its finest features preserved, but in a form fully suited to the genius of the German language and the German people. Mere translation, which in itself would have been a great task, was not sufficient. It must have "eine rechte deutsche Art." And this included the music as well as the text. For Luther was not in sympathy with such efforts as produced the first German Service in Strassburg, which, for a time, were held only at side altars without music. He had said, "I do not forbid that one should translate the Latin text into German and retain the Latin music (Ton oder noten), but it does not work out artistically or properly. Both, — text and notes, accent, neumes, and form,—must proceed from mother tongue and voice; else all is mere imitation like the apes." But this was a work for years, and for a host of translators and musicians.²

These were some of the reasons why Luther did not rush rashly, as did some others, into the preparation of a German order of worship. He preferred to proclaim principles rather than to prepare forms, and he earnestly desired that ample time should be given for the gradual solution of the

problem. But the times and the tides of popular feeling would not wait even for Luther. The importunities of those who looked to him for positive leadership could no longer be denied. He also could not fully approve what others had attempted, and he feared that the liberty he preached might run into license and destroy all reverence for holy things among the people. So, fully eight years after the publication of his *Theses*, he feels himself called to this work and enters upon it.

2. THE PREPARATION AND INTRODUCTION OF LUTHER'S GERMAN SERVICE. Luther called Bugenhagen and Jonas to aid him in the preparation of his German Service. He declared that he would not attempt the music of the Service alone, and the Elector sent him Johann Walther and Conrad Rupff, who assisted him in this part of the work.* The new Service was introduced in the parish church at Wittenberg, October 29, 1525. The next Sunday, the Twenty-first Sunday after Trinity, Luther had the following to say about it to the congregation: "We have begun to attempt to establish a German Mass. You are aware that the Mass is the chief external office appointed for the comfort of the true Christian. Therefore I beg you Christians to beseech God that this may please Him.—If one does not himself order and establish, he may know that it pleases God. One should not fall into the idea that if he does not begin a thing himself, nothing will come of it. Therefore I have also so long restrained myself with reference to the German Masses, that I might give no cause to the evil spirits who thoughtlessly jump in without concern as to whether God wishes it. Now, however, since so many from all countries beseech me with letters and writings, and even bring worldly force to bear upon me, we can no longer excuse ourselves and protest, but must believe that it is God's wish. If we produce something of our own, it shall perish and smell, even if it have the appearance of being beautiful and great. If, however, it be something of God's, it must succeed, even though it appear foolish. All things which God does, even if they please no one, must have the right of way. Therefore I beseech you that you pray God, that if it be a rightly ordered Service, it may go forth to His praise and honor."⁴

3. THE GERMAN MASS AND ORDER OF WORSHIP. Luther now completed the new Service, and beginning with Christmas, 1525, it was used, at least in parts, at the parish church at Wittenberg on Sunday mornings, "on account of the uneducated lay-folk." The Latin Service according to the *Formula missae* was continued in use on week days as before. The German Service appeared from the press early in 1526. For notice of editions, etc., see W. A. 19.

Following is a summary of its contents:

The first half is devoted to a "Preface," which discusses the general situation. The following extracts indicate its tenor.

"I kindly beseech all who desire to follow this our order in divine service, that they, by no means make a necessary law out of it. . . . We do not publish it with the intention to control anyone therein, or to rule with laws, but because everywhere the German Mass and Divine Service are insisted upon, and great complaint and scandal exist concerning the manifold forms of the new Masses."

"We should in love, as Paul teaches, endeavor to be of one mind, and in the best way possible to be of like forms and ceremonies, just as all Christians have one baptism, one sacrament, and to no person is given of God a special one."

"Yet I will not ask those who already have their good Order of Service, or who through God's grace can make a better one, to let it go and yield to us. For it is not my intention, that all Germany should accept precisely our Wittenberg Order. But it would be excellent if in every principality Divine Services were conducted in the same form, and the surrounding towns and villages directly shared with a city."

"We must have such Order of Service for the sake of those who are yet to become Christians or to become stronger, just as a Christian does not need Baptism, the Word and sacraments as a Christian, (for he already has all things,) but as a sinner. But most of all it is done on account of the simple and the young, who are to be and must be exercised daily and educated in the Scripture and God's Word . . ."

"There is a threefold distinction in worship and the

Mass. First a Latin Order, which we have before published and which is called the *Formula missae*. This I do not herewith wish to have abrogated or changed; but as we have hitherto observed it among us, so it shall be free to use the same, where and when we please or occasion requires; for I in no way wish to banish the Latin language from Divine Service. For it concerns me to do everything for the young; and if I were able, and the Greek and the Hebrew language were as familiar to us as the Latin, and had as much fine music and hymnology as the Latin has: then should Mass be celebrated, sung and read one Sunday after another in all four languages, German, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. I do not at all agree with those who give themselves to only one language and despise all others."

"Secondly, there is the German Mass and Divine Service, of which we now treat, which are to be arranged on account of the uneducated laity."

"The third form, which the right kind of evangelical service should have, must not be celebrated so publicly before all sorts of people; but those who mean to be Christians in earnest, and to confess the Gospel with hand and mouth, must register their names and assemble somewhere in a house alone for prayer, to read, baptize, receive the sacrament, and to perform other Christian works. . . . Here there would be no need of much elaborate singing. Here also baptism and the sacrament might be celebrated in a short, good form, and everything be directed to the Word, and to prayer and to love. But I cannot yet, nor do I like to order or establish such a congregation or assembly. For I have not yet the people and persons for it; and I do not see many who insist upon it." Meanwhile I will only insist upon the aforesaid two orders."

"For the first thing, a good, simple, plain, easy catechism is necessary in German worship"

The way in which instruction can be given is then developed at some length.

The Preface concludes with a fanciful idea concerning the "faith purse" and the "love purse," as containing the treasures of the Christian. "And let no man think himself too wise and despise such child's play. Christ, when He wished to draw men, was obliged to become man. If we are to

draw children, then we must also become children with them."

Then follows a chapter "Concerning Divine Worship," in which Luther's characteristic pedagogical view is emphasized. "The principal part is to preach and teach God's Word." On Sunday there are three sermons on the usual Epistle and Gospel Lessons. The first Service, at five or six, is chiefly for servants, and the greater part of the Matin order is used. The Mass is at eight or nine, with a sermon on the Gospel. At Vespers the sermon is on the Old Testament. The Gospels and Epistles are retained, because "we find nothing particular to blame in such an arrangement," and "since many are in Wittenberg to learn to preach where this custom still prevails." Monday and Tuesday there is instruction in German in parts of the Catechism at the early Service. On Wednesday, early, the Gospel of Matthew is explained; and Saturday afternoon, St. John's Gospel. On Thursday and Friday there are Lessons from the Epistles. "We thus have Lessons and Sermons enough to keep God's Word in full swing, without the lectures in the University for the learned." In towns where there are schools, Latin Psalms are sung by the boys daily before the Lesson to exercise the youth in the Latin Scriptures, and several chapters are read in Latin by different boys, after which another reads the same chapter in German, "To exercise them and to benefit any layman who may be present and listening."

Then follows a chapter on "Sunday for the Laity." "We there allow Mass vestments, altar, and lights still to remain, until they are no longer serviceable or it pleases us to change. But whoever wishes in this to proceed otherwise, we allow it to be done. But in the true Mass, among the real Christians,* the altar must not remain so, and the priest must always turn himself to the people, as without doubt Christ did at the Last Supper. But, let that bide its time."

The order of the Sunday Service is as follows:

(a) "In the beginning we sing a hymn, or a German Psalm, in the First Tone." This is a substitution of German hymns for the Latin Introits, such as Luther and others had begun to publish a year before, or of an entire German Psalm sung antiphonally. It is not clear who is to sing this. Liliencron is convinced that only a practised choir could have

sung the Psalm and the Kyrie which follows in the First Gregorian Tone.*

(b) The Kyrie, in the same Tone, but threefold instead of ninefold, as in the Roman Use.

The Gloria in Excelsis is not mentioned. This may be as Rietschel surmises, because Luther thought of it as belonging to the Kyrie, and took its use for granted. Liliencron (p. 28) mentions Schumann's Hymn Book of 1539 in which Luther's Order of Service is given with a German translation of the Gloria included. In the *Formula missae*, however, Luther suggests the possible omission of the Gloria if the pastor desires.

(c) The Collect, read (intoned) in F, facing the Altar. The text given appears to be a translation of the Collect for the Third Sunday after Trinity.

(d) The Epistle, in the Eighth Tone, facing the people. The passage I. Cor. 4: 1-5 is given, set to notes.

(e) A German hymn (as Gradual), e.g., "Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist" with the whole choir.

(f) The Gospel, in the Fifth Tone. John 1: 19-28 is given, set to music.

(g) Luther's German translation of the Nicene Creed,—*"Wir glauben all an einen Gott,"*—sung by the entire congregation.

(h) A Sermon on the Gospel. Luther thinks if there were complete German Postils (collections of sermons on the Gospels for the Church Year), it would be well to read these to the people, "Not alone for the sake of the preachers, who cannot do any better, but also to guard against enthusiasts and sects. Otherwise, . . . it will finally come to pass that each one will preach as he pleases, and instead of the Gospel and its exposition, men will preach again about blue ducks."

(i) A free (offentliche) Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, and an Exhortation to the communicants. These are read either from the pulpit, or at the altar, as the pastor may choose. Luther gives forms of each, not as binding, but as illustrations of what he desires. He begs that, whatever form is used, it be adhered to regularly in the same congregation, so as not to confuse the people.*

Then follows the Office (Amt) and Consecration. All

the prayers of the Mass are omitted and the Order proceeds at once to

(j) The Words of Institution, according to I Cor. 11: 23ff, with phrases from the Synoptists, being a slight expansion of the form given in the *Formula missae*, and precisely the form given in the *Common Service Book*. The Words were said silently by the priest in the Mass, but are now sung aloud to a melody which Luther gives.

Luther suggests that it would be "in accord with the Lord's Supper if the Sacrament were administered immediately after the consecration of the Bread, before one blesses the Cup," and that the German Sanctus, or another hymn, might be sung, with the German Agnus Dei, or the remainder of the other hymn, during the administration of the Cup. Also that the men and the women should stand in separate places, and the men receive the Sacrament first, and after them the women.⁹

(k) The Elevation of the Elements, Luther specifically retained, for the curious reason that "it well agrees with the German Sanctus," and as an act of faith and devotion to the Lord, Who "is not seen," but yet "remembered and exalted." Luther was doubtless influenced by popular feeling with regard to the importance of the Elevation and also particularly by Carlstadt's fanatical determination to make its abrogation compulsory. Although abolished in the Augustinian cloister, as early as 1524, it was retained in the parish church in Wittenberg, probably in deference to Luther's wishes, until 1542, when Bugenhagen, who had omitted it in all his Church Orders, finally dropped it in Wittenberg also, with Luther's consent. The latter, however, reserved his freedom to reintroduce it if necessary "because of heresy or other reasons." Just the year before his death he approved the desire of the Lutheran bishop, George von Anhalt, to retain it.¹⁰

(l) The German Sanctus, "Jesajai dem Propheten das geschah," a versification which Luther composed, and one of the poorest he ever made, is to be sung during the distribution.

(m) The Collect of Thanksgiving, "We give thanks to Thee, Almighty God, etc." as in the *Common Service Book*, p. 23.¹¹

(n) The Aaronitic Benediction ("The Lord bless thee and keep thee, etc.")

Then follow examples of the Epistles and Gospels, set to notes for choral reading.

"But with the festivals, as Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Michaelmas, Purification of Mary, and the like, it must continue as hitherto in Latin, till we have enough German hymns for them. For this work is in its beginning, consequently not everything is ready that belongs to it."

"The fasts of Palm-Day and Holy Week we allow to remain; not that we compel any one to fast, but that the Passion and the Gospels, which are set for this time should remain; yet not in such a manner that one observes the black cloth over the altar, palm processions, covering pictures and other jugglery, or sing four Passions, or have to preach eight hours on Good Friday on the Passion; but Holy Week shall be like other weeks, except that one preach the Passion one hour a day through the week, or as many days as desired, and as many as desire may receive the Sacrament. For among Christians everything in worship is to be done for the sake of the Word and Sacraments."

"In short, this order and all others are to be used in such a manner that where an abuse is made of them, one may straightway abolish them and make another . . . just as when a good coin is counterfeited, it is taken up and changed on account of the abuse; or as when new shoes become old and pinch, they are no longer worn, but thrown away and others bought."

4. CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES. The German Mass, even more than Luther's Latin Service, is a treatise rather than a formula. In its preparation Luther seems to have been influenced but little, if at all, by the work of others. Strassburg and Switzerland, and indeed southwest Germany in general, effected Wittenberg but slightly. The German Masses already published, while they may have slightly influenced Luther in the direction of simplicity, probably confirmed him in his conviction that if provision must be made for Services in German throughout, these must be the historic Order of the Mass and nothing else, simplified and adapted to the limited capacities of the laity of the time.

The use of German throughout, and the emphasis upon

German hymns, are its outstanding features. In general, the historic Order is retained, with the traditional appointments and ceremonies, e.g., the altar, vestments, lights, orientation, and even the Elevation. Every part of the Service is in the vernacular, except the Kyrie. Certain elements, formerly sung in Latin by the choir, e.g., Introit, Gradual, Creed, Sanctus, etc., are made congregational hymns. In the Communion itself, nearly all the parts of the Service found in the *Formula missae* are retained, but in different form and order. The Preface, the oldest and most universal part of the Christian Liturgy, is omitted, and only absolutely scriptural elements are retained, e.g., The Words of Institution (sung aloud), the Lord's Prayer and the Sanctus. The Lord's Prayer is transformed into a simple Paraphrase, which concludes with an original Exhortation to the communicants, and is placed before the Words of Institution. Nothing is said concerning formulas of distribution. The Collects and Prayers, etc., are fixed forms, and not left to the spontaneous inspiration of the pastor. The pedagogical purpose overtones the devotional throughout, and in spirit, as well as in form, the writing reveals the fact that, in the mind of the author, it possesses limited rather than universal significance.¹⁴

5. IMPORTANCE AND WORTH. Estimates of the German Mass differ greatly according to the point of view. Those who regard the German Service as the climax of the labors of the Reformation, see in it the long looked-for stroke of freedom; those who desire an Order of Worship with some historic features, but with as many departures from the old forms as possible, give it extravagant praise. Those who believed that evangelical worship must depart from the historic order altogether, and be built upon other foundations, find Zwingli and the Strassburgers more original than Luther, and credit the latter with liturgical incompetency; those who exalt the earlier attempts to provide German Services, charge Luther with egotism and selfish desire for leadership in bringing out his own Service and ignoring the others.

The German Mass clearly is not Luther's greatest liturgical work. Luther himself never so regarded it. The Elector desired to introduce it everywhere by authority, but Luther

would not agree.³³ He never gave up the general type of service he had outlined in the *Formula missae*. He never intended the *Deutsche Messe* as a universal substitute for this, but simply as a Service for the uneducated laity, the historic order indeed, but simplified and adapted to the needs and abilities of a part of the people, at a particular time in their development. If we wish to know Luther's mature ideas on worship, we can find them in the later orders for Wittenberg (1533) and Saxony (1539), and in less direct manner, in the other Church Orders prepared by his colleagues in the Wittenberg faculty, undoubtedly with his constant advice.

The report of his travels which Wolfgang Muskulus, pastor in Augsburg, published, gives a complete account of the Services in the parish Church in Wittenberg on Exaudi Sunday in the year 1536. The Introit, Gloria in Excelsis and Agnus Dei were all sung in Latin, the choir and the organ alternating according to an old church custom. The minister, in full vestments, and the clerk (Küster) knelt before the altar and said the Confiteor. The minister then ascended the altar steps. The Service Book, as in pre-Reformation practice, was on the south side of the altar and was moved to the north side for the reading of the Gospel. The minister intoned the Salutation, Collect, Epistle and Gospel, all in Latin. Bucer preached the Sermon. Luther, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, and Fabricius Capito were present. The Lord's Prayer and the Words of Institution (facing the altar), as well as the Thanksgiving and the Benediction, were intoned in German, and German hymns were sung by the congregation. Luther was seized with a "schwindel" during the Service, and left the Church, followed by Melancthon. Bugenhagen, Capito and Bucer received the Sacrament. Luther preached at Vespers on the Epistle for the day.³⁴

The pedagogical purpose is evident throughout the entire *Deutsche Messe*. It meets a certain class of the people on their own level, and endeavors to instruct and edify them; to make the non-Christians, Christians, and the weak Christians stronger Christians; and to furnish the youth with Christian truth. It seeks to promote congregational participation, and in order to do this, and also to preserve as much of the historic Service as possible for use in the villages, etc.,

where there were no capable choirs, it provides numerous German metrical versifications. This we must think of largely as an experiment, an effort to take advantage of a popular movement, and to put to churchly use the recently awakened enthusiasm for German hymns.

Generally speaking, the Lutheran Church as a whole, in its normal and best development in all lands, with occasional exceptions as to this or that feature, particularly in southern and southwestern Germany, has rejected most of the peculiar, and largely experimental features of the *Deutsche Messe*, such as the omission of the Gloria in Excelsis (which even Zwingli retained), the omission of the Preface, the versifications of the Creed and the Sanctus, the paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, (which opened the way for grave abuses in the period of Rationalism), the impracticable division of the Verba, and twofold administration of the Elements, and the retention of the Elevation.

The transfer of the Lord's Prayer to a place before the Verba was one of the few distinctive features to gain general acceptance, though some Orders of the first rank never adopted it. But this, certainly, was a mistake, due to the impulse of the moment to introduce a catechetical feature, viz., the Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer. It created permanent confusion in all subsequent Lutheran Orders of Service. Luther's approval and use of an Exhortation to the communicants doubtless kept that feature in most Lutheran Services, though the earlier Nürnberg form generally appears in the Church Orders instead of Luther's form. Later Lutheran development (as in the *Common Service Book*), while appreciating the didactic and devotional value of such an Exhortation, felt its unliturgical character in the Service proper, and has given it a more appropriate place in the Service of Public Confession preparatory to the Holy Communion.

The judgment of the Church, as expressed in the subsequent development of worship, has positively approved the principle of Services in the vernacular throughout, the conservative and churchly type of worship, with its adherence to historic elements and order and to fixed forms of expression, the great development of congregational hymns, and the extension of active congregational participation in worship to include a very large part of the Service. These im-

portant features, which are now the commonplaces of Protestant worship, were very largely established, not only for Lutheran Services but for many other Communion in all lands, by the principles and forms first laid down, or first gaining general acceptance, in Luther's German Mass.

LUTHER D. REED.

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NOTES ON THE GERMAN MASS AND ORDER OF SERVICE

¹ *Wider die himml. proph.* Erg. I:78ff; W. 18.

² Nicolas Hausmann in Zwickau, who was always consulting Luther about something or other, and to whom Luther directed his *Formula missae* the next year, prepared a German Mass in 1525, in which he placed German words under the notes of the Latin Service. He sent this to Luther for his judgment. The latter thought the German words should be sung in a German and not in a Latin manner! A year before Hausmann had proposed a conference of Luther's supporters to determine upon uniform ceremonies (Fendt, 177). Luther vetoed the proposition. The next year, 1526, Hausmann wished Luther to prepare a Directory for Services (*Ordinarius ceremonialius*); Luther replied: "Do it yourself"! (Enders V. 52; 328. Erg. I, 77).

³ Cf. Archer and Reed, *Psalter and Canticles*, p. 7.

⁴ E. 142, p. 278; W. 19, p. 50ff; De Wette 3:36.

⁵ This is the mystical Luther speaking. But the practical Luther, conscious of the heritage of history and art, and alive to the best means of impressing and influencing men, never attempted to introduce such a form of Service. That remained for Zinzendorf and the Pietists.

⁶ Luther's third type of Service.

⁷ *Liturgisch—musikalische Geschichte der Evangelischen Gottesdienste von 1523 bis 1700*, pp. 28ff.

⁸ Paraphrases of the Lord's Prayer were not unknown before Luther, but apparently the use of one in the Communion Service was a novelty. The idea of an Exhortation also had medieval precedent. Hausmann, in Zwickau, a year or more before, had proposed a German Exhortation in place of the Preface, and had submitted the same to Luther, who suggested abbreviating it, but did not oppose the idea.

⁹ Cf. Kawerau's observations (p. 356) on results of this two-fold consecration, etc., (Smend 269).

¹⁰ On the Elevation and Adoration of the Sacrament in Germany before the Reformation, see Hauck V: 336. For Luther's opinions, see De Wette, V: 478, 541ff. 762, "Kurtzer bekenntniss" 1544, etc. For abuses in Lutheran circles, Sehling, *Kirch. Gesetzgebung unter Moritz von Sachsen*, pp. 50, 64.

¹¹ While nearly all Luther's Collects in his different Services are translations or renderings of Latin originals, this beautiful Collect seems in large part new. Drews (*Beiträge zu Luthers liturgischen Reformen*, p. 95) suggests a rather remote Latin source.

¹² The classic exposition of Luther's pedagogical view of worship is by Kliefoth, pp. 93ff. (Smend 267).

¹³ See Enders V. 257, Drews W. A. 19: 51, Kawerau B. A. 7: 162.

¹⁴ This highly interesting account is given in full, in Latin, in Kolde, *Analecta Lutherana*, 226ff. (217ff.?) A German version is given in Fendt, p. 192.

THE GERMAN MASS AND ORDER OF SERVICE

INTRODUCTION

Despite the pressure upon Luther to give the people an order of service in the vernacular he proceeded very slowly, particularly since the radical "prophets," Münzer and Karlstadt, made it a matter of conscience. Karlstadt had introduced a German version of the Mass in Wittenberg in 1521 during Luther's absence at the Wartburg; on his return Luther promptly restored the Latin Mass.

There was a genuine demand for the Service in the language of the people. Here and there a German liturgy was introduced as early as 1522. Such cities as Nuremberg and Strassburg changed to the German service in 1524. Zwingli in Zurich and Oekolampadius in Basel gave the people the service in their own tongue in 1525.

Luther expressed his thoughts in the treatise "Against the Heavenly Prophets," published toward the end of 1524, as follows: "That the Mass is now held in German, pleases me, but when he (sc. Karlstadt) would make it a law, that it must be so, he goes too far

"I really want to have the Mass in German now, and I am working on it, but I also want it to be cast in a true German mould. Text and music, accent, mode and manner must be thoroughly suited to the mother-tongue and idiom, or it will be mere ape-like imitation

"Since they press me for it, I will take my time about it"

The following year Luther gave himself to the task and sent an outline of his proposed "German" Mass to the Elector of Saxony who had added his persuasion to that of others to induce Luther to undertake it. The Elector sent Conrad Rupff and Johann Walther to Wittenberg to assist in the musical notation. There is still extant a sheet from Luther's hand which he had probably sent to Walther to illustrate his ideas on the adaptation of the Gregorian melodies to the German words.³

On October 25, 1525, Luther wrote to Johann Lang: "We ourselves outlined a form of worship and sent it to the

Elector and by his command it is now elaborated. Next Sunday it will be given a public trial in the name of Christ.

"There will be a German Mass for the laity, but the daily services will be in Latin with German Scripture lessons, as you may see in brief when the printed copies are out. Then, if you choose, you can make your worship conform to ours, or you can use your own. In the meantime keep on with what you are doing."

On October 29, 1525, the twentieth Sunday after Trinity, the trial took place in the Parish Church at Wittenberg.

At the conclusion of the sermon⁴ Luther addressed the congregation, stating that one must be sure of doing God's will in beginning or ordering anything new, and that since he had received many letters petitioning for such an Order in German and had been pressed by the temporal powers for it, he could no longer make excuses and must look upon it as God's will.

On Christmas Day, 1525, the new Order became the official Order for the Wittenberg Church.

The chief difference between this Order and the *Formula missae* of 1523 is its omission of the *Gloria in excelsis* after the *Kyrie*. The Roman liturgy provided for its omission during Advent and Lent. Bugenhagen in the Brunswick Order of 1528 prescribed it with the proviso that it "may be omitted at times." The Wittenberg Order of 1533 reintroduced it for festival days.

The musical notation is not given with this translation. It would be unintelligible for the modern reader without considerable adaptation. The service as written is choral throughout, including the Epistle and Gospel, and the musical text is written on a four line system, with change of key whenever the melody goes beyond the four lines. The Weimar Edition reproduces the original; a modernized version is given in the Berlin Edition and a further modification in adaptation to the English words would take us quite a distance from the original. It has never been determined just how much of the musical notation is Luther's own.

The *Deutsche Messe* is found in Weimar Ed. 19, 44ff.; Erl. Ed. 22, 226ff.; Berlin Ed. 7, 159ff.; Clemen Ed. 3, 294ff.

NOTES ON INTRODUCTION TO THE GERMAN MASS AND
ORDER OF SERVICE

¹ Weimar Ed. 18, 123.

² Facsimile in Weimar Ed., 19, 70.

³ Luther's Correspondence, Smith and Jacobs, 2, 340.

⁴ So Walther in Weimar Ed. 19, 50. Kawerau places this on the succeeding Sunday, following Erlangen Ed., 14, 2, 278, where the material appears as the conclusion of the sermon on the twenty-first Sunday after Trinity on the Gospel, John 4:47-54.

THE GERMAN MASS AND ORDER OF SERVICE

1526

MARTIN LUTHER'S PREFACE

In the first place, I want to make a request, in all kindness, and in God's name, too, that all who see this Order of Service or desire to adopt it, shall not impose it as a law or cause anyone's conscience to be distressed or bound by it, but shall use it in Christian freedom as they may please, as, where, when, and as long as conditions warrant or call for it. For we do not publish this with the intent of correcting anyone or legislating for him, but because there is clamor for German masses and services everywhere, and widespread lament and offense has been caused by the different usages in the new masses. For everyone is constructing his own: some with good intentions, others again with presumption, in order that they may shine as also having produced something new to prove that they are not ordinary leaders. Such is the fate of Christian freedom. Few use it save for their own pleasure or advantage, not for the honor of God and the welfare of the neighbor.

Although the exercise of such freedom is a matter for everyone's conscience and no one should seek to forbid or limit it, yet we must see to it that freedom is and shall ever be the servant of love and of the neighbor. And where men take offence or are led astray by the differences in usage we are bound, in truth, to forego our freedom and, as far as possible, to seek the improvement of the people and not cause offense by what we do or omit to do. Since this external order of service may serve the neighbor and there is nothing here affecting matters of conscience before God, we should seek to be of one mind in Christian love, as St. Paul teaches, and, as far as feasible, have like usages and ceremonies, even as all Christians have the one Baptism and the one Sacrament;¹ nobody has received from God a special one of his own.

This is not to say that those who are already provided

Romans

15: 5;

I Cor.

1: 10;

Phil. 2: 2

with a proper Order, or by God's grace can do better than I, shall abandon theirs and give place to ours. For it is not my thought that all Germany must immediately adopt our Wittenberg Order. It has never been so that all foundations, monasteries and parishes had a uniformity of observance. But it would be well if in every jurisdiction public worship were uniform and neighboring towns and villages observed the same ceremonies as the city. Nor should there be any constraint or reproof if in other jurisdictions they wished to observe the same ceremonies or make additions of their own. In short, we do not introduce any Order for the sake of those who already are Christians. They do not need them, for one does not live for such things. But they live for our sake, who are not yet Christians, that they may make Christians out of us. Their worship is in the spirit.

We need such Orders for those who either must still become Christians or need to be strengthened, since a Christian does not need Baptism, the Word or the Sacrament as a Christian,—it is all his,—but as a sinner. They are needed must read, sing, preach, write and compose, and if it would and must be drilled and trained in the Scriptures and God's Word every day so that they may become familiar with the Scriptures, apt, well-versed and learned in them, enabled to defend their faith and in due time may teach others and help to increase the Kingdom of Christ. For their sake we must read, sing, preach, write and compose, and if it would help the matter along, I would have all the bells pealing, and all the organs playing, and let everything chime in that has a clapper. For this is the damnable thing in the papal services, that they have been changed into laws, works and merits to the utter destruction of faith.

Nor did they use them to educate the youth and the simple minded, to drill them in the Scriptures and God's Word, but became so enmeshed in them as to regard them as themselves useful and necessary for salvation. That is the devil himself. The ancients did not institute nor order them with such intentions.

There are three kinds of services and masses. First the

Latin, which we have published under the title: *Formula missæ*.²

This service I do not wish hereby to abrogate or change. As it has been in use by us hitherto, so shall it remain available for use where and when it pleases us or occasion calls for it. For I would in no wise banish the Latin tongue entirely from the Service, for the youth is my chiefest concern. If I could bring it to pass and Greek and Hebrew were as familiar to us as the Latin, and offered as much good music and song, we would hold mass, sing and read on successive Sundays in all four languages, German, Latin, Greek and Hebrew.

I am not at all in sympathy with those who cling to one language and despise all others. I would rather train the youth and folks who could also be of service to Christ in foreign lands and able to converse with the natives there, in order to avoid the experience of the Waldensians in Bohemia,³ who confined their faith to one language so completely, that they cannot speak correctly and intelligently with anyone, unless he first learn their language. This was not the method of the Holy Spirit at the beginning. He did not tarry until all the world came to Jerusalem and studied Hebrew, but gave manifold tongues for the office of the ministry, so that the apostles could preach wherever they went. I would rather follow this example. It is proper that the youth should be trained in many languages, for who knows how God may use them in time to come. For this our schools have been established.

The Second is the German Mass and Order of Service, with which we are concerned here and which should be introduced for the sake of the simple laymen. These two Orders of Service must be used publicly, in the churches, for all the people. For among them are many who do not believe and are not yet Christians. The greater part stands around and gapes, hoping to see something new, just as if we were holding a service among the Turks or the heathen in a public square or out in a field. For there is as yet no well-ordered and organized congregation here, in which the

Christians could be ruled according to the Gospel. Our Service is a public provocation to faith and to Christianity.

The third kind of Service which a truly Evangelical Church Order should have would not be held in a public place for all sorts of people, but for those who mean to be real Christians and profess the Gospel with hand and mouth. They would record their names on a list and meet by themselves in some house in order to pray, read, baptize, receive the Sacrament and do other Christian works. In this manner those who do not lead Christian lives could be known, reproved, reclaimed, cast out or excommunicated, according to the rule of Christ in Matthew XVIII.⁴ Here one could also establish a common benevolent fund among the Christians, which should be willingly given and distributed among the poor, according to the example of St. Paul, II Corinthians ix. The many and elaborate chants would be unnecessary. There could be a short, appropriate Order for Baptism and the Sacrament and everything centered on the Word and Prayer and Love. There would be need of a good brief catechism on the Creed, the Ten Commandments and the Our Father. In short, if one had the people and persons who wanted to be Christians in fact, the rules and regulations could easily be supplied.

Matt. 18:
15-17

II Cor.
9: 1

But as yet I neither can nor desire to begin, or to make rules for such a congregation or assembly. I have not yet the persons necessary to accomplish it; nor do I observe many who strongly urge it. If circumstances should force me to it and I can no longer refuse with a good conscience, I shall gladly do my part and help as best I may. In the meanwhile the two kinds of service mentioned must suffice and I shall publicly help to foster, in addition to the preaching, such services for all the people as shall train the youth and call and provoke others to faith, until the Christians who take the Word seriously, find themselves and become insistent. If I should begin it by myself, it may result in a revolt. For we Germans are an untamed, crude, boisterous folk with whom one ought not lightly start anything except under the compulsion of a very great need.

Let us to it, in God's Name. First, the German Service needs an easily understood, plain, simple catechism. Catechism means instruction, in which heathen who want to be Christians are taught and directed in what they should believe, do, omit to do, and know in the Christian religion. For this reason beginners, who were admitted to such instruction and studied the Creed before they were baptized, were called *Catechumenos*. This instruction or direction I know not how to put in a clearer or better way than has been done since the beginning of Christendom and retained to our own day, namely in these three, the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Our Father. These three contain, simply and briefly, about everything a Christian needs to know. This instruction must be given, as long as there is no special congregation,* from the pulpit at stated times or daily as may be needed, and repeated or read aloud evenings and mornings in the homes for the children and the servants, if we want to train them as Christians. They should not merely learn to say the words by heart, as heretofore, but with each part they should be asked questions and give answer, what each part means and how they understand it. If everything cannot be covered at once, one part should be taken up and the next day another. For if the parents and guardians of youth will not take the pains to do this themselves or secure others to do it, there will never be a catechism, unless it should come to pass that separate congregations were organized, as stated above.

They should be questioned like this: What do you pray? Answer: The Our Father. What does it mean when you say, Our Father in heaven? Answer: That God is not an earthly but a heavenly Father who would make us rich and blessed in heaven. What does this mean: Thy Name be hallowed? Answer: That we should honor His Name and keep it from being profaned. How is His Name dishonored and profaned? Answer: When we, who should be His children, live evil lives and teach and believe what is wrong. And so on, what the Kingdom of God means; how it comes; what God's Will is; what Daily Bread means; etc.

So in the Creed; What do you believe? Answer: I believe in God the Father, to the end. Thereafter one part after the other as time permits, one part or two at once. For instance; What does it mean to believe in God the Father Almighty? Answer: It means to trust in Him with all the heart and with assurance to expect all grace, favor, help and comfort from Him in time and in eternity. What does it mean to believe in Jesus Christ His Son? Answer: It means to believe in the heart that we would all be eternally lost if Christ had not died for us, etc.

Likewise in the Ten Commandments; one must ask, What does the first Commandment mean, the second, the third and the other Commandments? These questions can be taken from our *Betbuechlein** where the three chief parts are briefly explained, or one can follow his own method, until all Christian teaching is summed up for the heart in two portions, as it were two pouches, which are faith and love. Faith's pouch may have two purses. Into the one we put this, that we believe that through the sin of Adam we are all corrupt, sinners, and under condemnation, Romans v, Psalm li. Into the other purse we put this, that we are all saved through Jesus Christ from such corruption, sin and condemnation, Romans v, John iii. Love's pouch may also have two purses. One shall contain this, that we should serve and do good to everyone, even as Christ hath done for us, Romans xiii; the other shall have this, that we should suffer and endure all kinds of evil with joy.

When a child begins to understand this, it should be encouraged to bring home Scripture texts from the sermons and repeat them at meal-time for the parents, as was formerly the custom with the Latin lesson. Then those texts should be put into the pouches and purses just as the Pfennige, Groschen or Gulden are put into the pockets. For instance: let faith's pouch be the golden pouch. Into the first purse this text shall go, Romans v: Through one man's sin all men are sinners and have passed under condemnation. Also this one, Psalm li: Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me. These are two

Rom. 5:12

Psalm

51:7

Rom. 5:

18f

John 3:

3:16ff

Rom. 13:

8-10

Rom.

5:12

Psalm

51:7

Rhenish Gulden^r for this purse. The Hungarian Gulden^r go into the other purse, as this text, Romans iv: Christ was delivered up for our trespasses and was raised again for our justification. Again, John I: Behold the Lamb of God, that beareth the sin of the world. These are two precious Hungarian Gulden for that purse.

Let love's pouch be the silver pouch. Into the first purse shall go the texts concerning welldoing, such as Galatians v: Through love be servants one to another. Matthew xxv: What ye have done unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done unto Me. They would be two silver Groschen for that purse. Into the other purse shall go this text, Matthew v: Blessed are ye, when men shall persecute you for my sake. Hebrews xii: Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. These are two Schreckenberger^r for that purse.

Let none think himself too wise for this and despise such child's play. Christ, in order to train men, must needs become a man himself. If we wish to train children, we must become children with them. Would to God such child's play were widely practiced. In a short time we would have a wealth of Christian people, souls becoming rich in Scripture and the knowledge of God, until they would, of their own accord add more of such purses as *Locos communes*³⁰ and comprehend all Scripture in them. Otherwise things will remain as they have been, a daily going to church and a coming away again. For no one thinks that it makes any difference except for the time it takes. No one expects to learn anything there. A man listens to preaching three or four years and does not learn enough to give answer concerning one article of the Creed; this I know from daily experience. Enough is written in the books, yes; but it has not been driven home to the hearts.

CONCERNING THE SERVICE

Since the chief and greatest aim of any Service is to preach and teach God's Word, we have arranged for sermons and lessons as follows: For the holy day or Sunday

we retain the customary Epistles and Gospels¹¹ and have three sermons. Early at five or six o'clock a few Psalms are chanted for Matins. A sermon follows on the Epistle of the day, chiefly for the sake of the servants, so that they too, may be cared for and hear God's Word, if perchance they cannot be present at the other sermons. After this an antiphon and the Te Deum or the Benedictus, alternately, concluding with the Lord's Prayer, Collect and Benedicamus Domino.¹²

At the Mass,¹³ at eight or nine o'clock there is preaching on the Gospel appointed for the day. At Vespers in the afternoon there is preaching before the Magnificat, on the Old Testament, taken in proper order. The customary Epistles and Gospels of the various days of the year are retained by us because there is nothing specially censurable in this custom. This is the arrangement at Wittenberg at the present time when many are here¹⁴ who must learn to preach in the places where the system of Epistles and Gospels still is and may remain in vogue. Since in this matter we can be of service to others without loss to ourselves, we have made no change, without thereby implying any criticism of those who would take the complete books of the Evangelists in hand. This, we think, provides sufficient preaching and teaching for the layman; he who desires more, will find an abundance on the other days.

On Monday and Tuesday, early, we have a German lesson on the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, Baptism and the Sacrament, so that these two days shall preserve the Catechism¹⁵ and deepen its understanding. On Wednesday, early, again a German lesson for which the Evangelist Matthew has been appointed, so that the day shall be his very own, especially since he is an excellent evangelist for the instruction of the congregation, reports the great sermon of Christ on the mount, and strongly urges the exercise of love and good works. The Evangelist John, who is so mighty in teaching faith, has his own day, too, on Saturday afternoon at Vespers. In this way we have a daily study of two evangelists. Thursday and Fri-

day bring us, early in the morning, the weekday lessons from the Epistles of the Apostles and the rest of the New Testament. Thus enough lessons and sermons are appointed to give the Word of God free course among us. Then there are still the lectures given in the university for the scholars.

To exercise the boys and pupils in the Bible, this is done. Every day of the week they chant a few Psalms in Latin, before the Lesson, as customary at Matins hitherto. For we want to keep the youth in the knowledge and use of the Latin Bible, as was said above.¹⁶ After the Psalms a chapter from the New Testament is read in Latin by two or three of the boys in succession, depending on its length. Another boy then reads the same chapter in German, for the exercise, and for the benefit of any layman who might be present. Thereupon they proceed with an antiphon to the German lesson mentioned above. After the lesson the whole assembly sings a German hymn, the Lord's Prayer is said secretly, the pastor or chaplain reads a collect, closing with the *Benedicamus Domino*¹⁷ as usual.

At Vespers they chant a few of the Vesper Psalms in the same manner as heretofore in Latin with an antiphon, followed by a hymn, if one be available. Two or three of the boys, one after the other, again read a chapter in Latin from the Old Testament, or half a chapter, depending on the length. Another boy reads the same chapter in German, the Magnificat follows in Latin with an antiphon or hymn, the Lord's Prayer, said secretly, and the Collects with the *Benedicamus*. This is the daily week-day Service in the cities where there are schools.

THE SUNDAY SERVICE FOR THE LAITY

We allow the vestments, altars, and candles to remain in use until they are used up or it pleases us to make a change. But we do not oppose anyone who would herein do otherwise. In the true Mass, however, of real Christians,¹⁸ the altar could not remain where it is and the priest would always face the people as doubtless Christ did in the last Supper. But let that await its own time.

To begin the Service we sing a hymn or a German Psalm in the first Tone²⁹ after this manner:

I will bless the Lord at all times: His praise shall continually be in my mouth. My soul shall make her boast in the Lord: The humble shall hear thereof and be glad, etc.³⁰ Ps. 34

Then follows the Kyrie Eleison in the same Tone, three times and not nine times.³¹

Kyrie Eleison. Christe Eleison. Kyrie Eleison.

Thereupon the priest reads a Collect in F faut in monotone³² as follows:

Almighty God, Who art the protector of all who trust in Thee, without Whose grace nothing is strong, nothing is holy, increase and multiply upon us Thy mercy, that by Thy holy inspiration we may think the things that are right and by Thy power may perform the same, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.³³

Thereafter the Epistle in the eighth Tone, in the same key as the Collect:

The rules for this are these:

Period is the end of a sentence.

Colon is the part of a sentence.

Comma is the subdivision within the colon.

Rules for this chant:

Beginning. Comma. Second Comma. Colon. Period. Question. Finale.³⁴

Example: Thus writeth the holy Apostle Paul to the Corinthians. Dear Brethren, Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of Christ, etc.³⁵ I Cor. 4: 1ff

He should read the Epistle facing the people, but the Collect facing the altar. After the Epistle a German hymn is sung: Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist³⁶ or some other hymn by the full choir. Then he reads the Gospel in the fifth Tone, also facing the people.

The rules for chanting this are these:

Beginning. Comma. Second Comma. Colon. Period. Finale.

Voice of Persons :

Comma. Second Comma. Colon. Period. Question. Finale.

The Voice of Christ :

Comma. Colon. Period. Question. Finale.

Example: The Gospel of the Fourth Sunday in Advent would be chanted as follows: Thus writeth St. John in his Gospel. This is the witness of John when the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask him, Who art thou? Etc.^m

John
1: 19ff

After the Gospel the whole congregation sings the Creed in German: Wir glauben all an einen Gott.^m

The sermon on the Gospel for the Sunday or festival day follows. If we had a German Postil^m for the entire year, I think it would be best to direct that the sermon for the day, in whole or in part, should be read for the people out of the book, not only for the sake of the preachers who could not do any better, but also to prevent the rise of enthusiasts and sects. The homilies read at Matins^m seem to indicate that once such was the custom. For unless spiritual knowledge and the Spirit Himself speak through the preachers (whom I do not wish hereby to limit, for the Spirit teaches better how to preach than all the postils and homilies), the final result will be that everyone preaches his own whims and instead of the Gospel and its exposition we shall again have sermons on blue ducks.^m This is one of the reasons why we retain the Epistles and Gospels as they are given in the postils,—there are so few gifted preachers who are able to give a powerful and practical exposition of a whole evangelist or some other book of the Bible.

After the sermon shall follow a public paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer and admonition for those who want to partake of the Sacrament, after this or a better fashion:

Dear Friends of Christ. Since we are here assembled in the Name of the Lord to receive His holy Testament, I admonish you first of all to lift up your hearts to God to pray with me the Lord's Prayer, as Christ our Lord has taught us and has given comfortable promise that it shall be heard.

That God, our Father in heaven, may look with mercy on us, His needy children on earth and grant us grace so that His holy Name be hallowed by us and all the world through the pure and righteous teaching of His Word and the fervent love of our lives; that He would graciously turn from us all false doctrine and evil living whereby His precious Name is blasphemed and profaned.

That His Kingdom may come and be enlarged; that all transgressors, the sin-darkened, and those in the bonds of Satan's kingdom be brought to a knowledge of the true faith in Jesus Christ, His Son, and the number of Christians be increased.

That we may be strengthened by His Spirit to do His Will and suffer it to be done, both in life and in death, in good things and in evil, ever breaking, offering, slaying our own wills.

That He would also give us our daily bread, preserve us from avarice and gluttony, relying upon Him to grant us a sufficiency of all good things.

That He would forgive our debts as we forgive our debtors so that our heart may have a calm and joyful conscience before Him and no sin may frighten us nor make us afraid.

That He would not lead us into temptation but help us by His Spirit to subdue the flesh, despise the world and its ways and overcome the devil with all his wiles.

And finally, that He would deliver us from all evil, bodily, and spiritually, in time and in eternity.

All those who earnestly desire these things, will say, from their very hearts, Amen, believing without doubt that it is yea, and answered in heaven as Christ hath promised: What-soever things ye desire when ye pray, believe that ye shall receive them, and ye shall have them. Amen. Mark 11: 24

Secondly, I admonish you in Christ, that ye look upon the Testament of Christ in true faith, above all having confident assurance in your hearts in the words by which Christ grants us His body and blood for the forgiveness of sins. That ye remember and give thanks to His boundless love, of which He gave proof when He redeemed us by His blood

from God's wrath, sin, death, and hell, and thereupon take to yourselves externally the bread and wine, that is, His body and blood, as your guarantee and pledge. In His Name therefore, and according to His command, let us proceed by the use of His own words to the observance and administration of the Testament.^{30b}

Whether such paraphrase and admonition should be read in the pulpit immediately after the sermon, or at the altar, I would leave to everyone's own decision. It seems as if the ancients did so in the pulpit, so that the custom still obtains to read General Prayers or to repeat the Lord's Prayer in the pulpit, but the former admonition has now become a Public Confession. But in this way the Lord's Prayer together with a short exposition of it would be current among the people, and the Lord would be remembered, even as He commanded at the Supper.

I want to stress this point, however, that the paraphrase and admonition be made in previously determined and prescribed words or be formulated in some definite manner for the sake of the common people. We cannot have one man do it one way today and tomorrow another do it some other way, everybody showing his art and confusing the people, so that they can neither learn nor abide by anything. What chiefly matters is the teaching and guiding of the people. Here it is necessary therefore to limit our freedom and keep to one form of such paraphrase and admonition, particularly in one church or congregation by itself, if, to retain its liberty, it will not follow the form used by another.

The Office and Consecration follows in this wise:

1 Cor. 11: Example: Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the night in which He
23ff was betrayed, took bread; and when He had given thanks, He brake it and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take, eat; This is My Body, which is given for you; this do as oft as ye do it, in remembrance of Me.

After the same manner also, He took the cup, when He had supped, and said, Take and drink ye all of it, this is the Cup, a new Testament in My Blood, which is shed for

you for the remission of sins: this do, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me.²²

It seems to me that it would be in accord with the institution of the Lord's Supper to administer the Sacrament²³ immediately after the consecration of the Bread, before the Cup is blessed, for both Luke and Paul say: He took the cup after they had supped, etc.²⁴ During the distribution of the Bread the German Sanctus could be sung, or the hymn, *Gott sei gelobet*,²⁵ or the hymn of John Hus: *Jesus Christus unser Heiland*.²⁶ Then shall the Cup be blessed and administered; while the remainder of the hymns mentioned are sung, or the German *Agnus Dei*.²⁷ Let there be a chaste and orderly approach, not men and women with each other but the women after the men, wherefore they should also stand separately at allotted places.²⁸ What should be the attitude in respect to secret Confession, I have indicated in other writings and my opinion can be found in the *Betbuechlein*.²⁹

We do not want to abolish the Elevation³⁰ but retain it because it goes well with the German Sanctus and signifies that Christ has commanded us to remember Him. For as the Sacrament is elevated in a material manner and yet Christ's body and blood are not seen in it, so He is remembered and elevated by the word of the sermon and is confessed and adored in the reception of the Sacrament. Yet it is all apprehended by faith, for we cannot see how Christ gives His body and blood for us and even now daily shows and offers it before God to obtain grace for us.

The German Sanctus³¹

Isaiah, in a vision, saw the Lord
Enthroned, amid a heavenly light outpoured,
His garment's edge filled all the temple space,
The prophet's soul was filled with awe and grace.
Above the throne there stood two seraphim;
Each had six wings, his view disclosed to him.
With two they kept their faces veiled from view
And covered modestly their feet with two,

While two served them in flight. To praise His name
 They sang this hymn to God with loud acclaim:
 Holy is God, the Lord of Sabaoth,
 Holy is God, the Lord of Sabaoth,
 Holy is God, the Lord of Sabaoth,
 His glory hath gone forth o'er all the earth.
 The clamor of their voices shook the place,
 With haze and smoke the temple filled apace.

The Collect follows with the Benediction.

We give thanks to Thee, Almighty God, that Thou hast refreshed us with this Thy salutary gift; and we beseech Thee, of Thy mercy, to strengthen us through the same in faith toward Thee, and in fervent love toward one another; through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.^{40b}

The Lord bless thee and keep thee.
 The Lord make His face shine upon thee,
 and be gracious unto thee.
 The Lord lift up His countenance upon thee,
 and give thee peace.

Exercitation or Practice for the Intoning

In order to increase proficiency in intoning and greater familiarity with the colons, commas, and similar pauses, I add another illustration. Some one else may choose another.

The Epistle

I Cor. 4: 1ff Thus writeth St. Paul, the holy apostle of Jesus Christ to the Corinthians: Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God.⁴¹

The Gospel

Matt. 6: 24ff Hear the Holy Gospel. Thus saith Jesus Christ to His disciples: No man can serve two masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other; or else he will hold to the one and despise the other.⁴²

This is what I have to say concerning the daily Service and the teaching of God's Word, which is primarily for the training of the young and the encouragement of the simple-minded; for they who come out of curiosity and the desire for new things will soon tire of it and become indifferent. This has been the case with the Latin services; there was singing and reading in the churches every day and yet the churches remained bare and empty. It is beginning to be so in the German services, too. Therefore, it is best to plan the services in the interest of the young and such of the simple-minded as may happen to come. With all others, neither law nor order, admonition or urging will help: let them go, so that they may grant and consent to the things in the service, which they dislike and are unwilling to do. God is not pleased with forced service; it is hopeless and in vain.

On festivals like Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, St. Michael's Day, Purification,⁴ and the like, we must continue with the Latin services until enough German hymns become available for them. This work is only in its beginning: not everything required for it is ready. But it is needful to know how we should and could have a uniform usage, so that the differences in usage may be regulated and restrained.

Lent, Palm Sunday and Holy Week are continued, not to force anyone to fast, but to retain the Passion History and the Gospels appointed for that season. Not in such fashion, however, that we still have the Lenten Veil,⁴ Throwing of Palms,⁴ Veiling of Pictures,⁴ and whatever else of such trickery there is; nor do we continue the singing of four Passions, or preaching on the Passion for eight hours on Good Friday. Holy Week shall be like any other week save that the Passion History be explained every day for an hour, throughout the week or on as many days as may be desirable, and that the Sacrament be given to everyone who desires it. For among Christians the whole service should center in the Word and Sacrament.

In short, this or any other Order shall be so used that whenever it becomes an abuse, it shall be straightway abolished and replaced by another, even as King Hezekiah put

away and destroyed the brazen serpent, made by command of God Himself, because the children of Israel made an abuse of it. The Orders must serve for the improvement of faith and love and not cause any injury to faith. If they no longer serve their purpose, they are already dead and gone, of no value whatever; just as a good coin, when counterfeited, is cancelled and changed because of the abuse, or as new shoes become old and uncomfortable and are worn no longer but are thrown away and new ones bought. An Order is an external thing, no matter how good it is, it can be abused. Then it is no longer an Order but a Disorder. No Order exists, therefore, or is of any value, in and by itself, as the Papal Orders were held to be until now; but the life, worth, power and virtue of any Order is in its proper use; otherwise it is utterly worthless and good for nothing.

God's Spirit and grace be with us all. Amen.

NOTES ON MARTIN LUTHER'S PREFACE TO THE GERMAN MASS AND ORDER OF SERVICE

¹ Here as elsewhere in this treatise the Sacrament of the Altar is called simply the Sacrament.

² See page 83 in this volume.

³ The Bohemian Brethren, a resultant of the movement called forth by John Hus. They had received episcopal ordination through the Waldenses and were otherwise related to them. The name "Waldensian" was first given them by their enemies. See Realencyk. V, 452. Also Vol. II, 140 of this edition.

A similar complaint concerning their disregard of other languages is found in Luther's educational treatise, "To the Mayors and Councilmen of the Cities of Germany, etc." 1524.

⁴ Luther's ideal of a Christian congregation based on "elective affinity" rather than mere residence within a given parish marked out by the State. The latter is still the determining factor in the State Churches of Europe.

⁵ See page 173.

⁶ Luther's re-publication in 1522 of his "Brief Explanation of the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer," first published in 1520, together with the Ave Maria and eight Psalms. Later editions contained other additions. It was the forerunner of his Catechisms. See the "Brief Explanation" in Vol. I, 351ff.

⁷ The Gulden, the gold coin issued by the rulers of the estates bordering on the Rhine, had come into general circulation in Germany in Luther's day. Its value is given as equal to 60 Kreuzer. See Brockhaus, *Conversationslexicon*, X, 714.

Schoenhof, in *Money and Prices*, New York, 1897, p. 611 assigns to a Kreuzer a value of two thirds of a cent. Values, however, were not

entirely stable. The Hungarian Gulden which found its way especially into Eastern Germany, was considered to have greater value than the Rhenish. See Erich Born, *Das Zeitalter des Denars*, Leipzig, 1924, p. 435.

⁹ A silver coin, first put into circulation by Frederick the Wise and other Saxon princes in 1498, so called from the Schreckenbergr, where the silver mines were located. Its value was 12 Kreuzer. It was also called Engelgroschen, from its design, representing an angel with the shield of Saxony. See Brockhaus, X, 61.

On the value of a Kreuzer, see note on page 186.

¹⁰ General heads, i.e., in a topical study of the Scriptures.

¹¹ The system of pericopes of the Medieval Church, lessons for every Sunday and festival day of the Church Year, which Luther retained although not entirely pleased with some of the selections. He regretted, too, the omission of some passages on faith from Paul's letters. See his references to the subject in *Formula missae*, p. 87 this volume.

¹² Antiphon, the musical introduction to the chanting of Psalms, by which the precentor gave indication of the Tone in which the Psalm was to be sung. It was usually a verse from the Psalm itself and was repeated by the full choir at the close of the Psalm.

The service parts here mentioned are taken from the Breviary, as the "Mass" was taken from the Missal. The Te Deum was the canticle of Matins, the Benedictus the canticle of Lauds.

The Collects, the sentence prayers of the Ancient Church, beautiful in form and comprehending within brief compass all the elements of prayer.

The Benedicamus (Bless we the Lord) was the customary form of concluding the exercises of the "Hours."

¹³ The chief, or Communion Service. "Falsely are our Churches accused of abolishing the Mass, for the Mass is retained on our part and celebrated with the highest reverence." Augsburg Confession, Art. XXIV. Jacobs, Book of Concord, p. 50.

¹⁴ Students of theology at the University.

¹⁵ See above.

¹⁶ See p. 172, this volume.

¹⁷ See page 177, this volume.

¹⁸ See above, p. 173.

¹⁹ Of the eight Gregorian Psalm Tones (chants) Luther mentions here and subsequently the first, fifth and eighth. "The antiquity of the Psalm Tones is so great that no one has succeeded in tracing their exact origin with any degree of certainty." Archer and Reed in *The Psalter and Canticles*, where examples and full bibliography can be found. See also Realencyk XVI, 219ff.

²⁰ Here the Psalm is given in full, with the musical notation. [This is to be the *Introit*. Luther had expressed a desire to use the entire Psalm here, in the *Formula*; see page 86, P. Z. S.]

²¹ In the Roman Mass the Kyrie was sung nine times. [Cf. *Formula*, p. 87.]

²² On one note, F faut (double designation), without modulation. See Weimar Ed. 19, 55.

²³ See *Luther's Collects*, this volume, pp. 319, 325. [P. Z. S.]

²⁴ Luther's text gives the musical notation with these rules.

²⁵ The Epistle for the Third Sunday in Advent, I Cor. 4: 1-5, is here given in full, with musical notation for intoning.

²⁶ The first stanza of this hymn is one of the few examples of popular hymns in the vernacular used in church in pre-Reformation times. Luther added three stanzas and published it in 1524. Translated by Miss Winkworth: "Now let us pray the Holy Ghost." (Christian

Singers, 38). See Julian, Dict. of Hymnology, 821. Also Berlin Ed. 8, 7.

[Cf. *Formula missae*, Note 141, p. 114f, this volume, and under *Luther's Hymns*, p. 305, this volume. P. Z. S.]

³⁴ Musical notation accompanies both the rules and the lesson in Luther's text. The whole Gospel lesson is given, John 1: 19-28.

³⁷ Luther's own versification of the Creed which he published in 1524. See below, *Luther's Hymns*, p. 304.

³⁸ Only one half of Luther's "Kirchenpostille," sermons on the Gospels for the Church Year, had been published (1525) by this time. The other part appeared in 1527. See Koestlin-Kawerau, II, 153.

³⁹ The Breviary prescribed the reading of homilies from the Church fathers. [On the Homily cf. *Formula missae*, p. 100, this volume, P. Z. S.]

⁴⁰ See Weimar Ed. 38, 231; similar complaints by Luther, Erlangen Ed. 31, 351; Vol. I of this ed. p. 224.

[^{40b} Cf. the Introduction to, and the text of, *A Preface*, this volume, p. 135ff. P. Z. S.]

⁴¹ Luther gives the musical notation.

⁴² i.e. the bread.

⁴³ This suggestion of Luther's did not crystallize into permanent usage. The Braunschweig Order of 1528 prepared by Bugenhagen, adopted it; in the Wittenberg Order of 1533 it no longer finds mention. It survives in the Order for the Communion of the Sick of the United Lutheran Church in America.

⁴⁴ The first stanza of this hymn is another pre-Reformation hymn which Luther published with additional stanzas in 1524. R. Massie's translation "May God be praised henceforth, and blest forever" is found in the Ohio Lutheran Hymnal. Julian, Dict. 444. [Cf. *Formula missae*, note 139, p. 114, this volume; also *Annotations to Luther's Hymns*, this volume, p. 301. P. Z. S.]

⁴⁵ A Latin hymn ascribed to John Hus, a German version of which Luther published in 1524 under the title: "The Hymn of St. John Hus improved." Only the first stanza is taken directly from the Latin. Translated into English by W. M. Reynolds, "Lord Jesus Christ, to Thee we pray," first published in the *Evangelical Review*, Oct. 1819. It is found in the Ohio Lutheran Hymnal. See Julian, 598. [Cf. *Annotations to Luther's Hymns*, this volume, p. 301. P. Z. S.]

⁴⁶ "O Christ, Thou Lamb of God," a modified form of a portion of the Gloria in excelsis, based on John 1: 29, one of the very oldest parts of the liturgy. It was in use at the Communion service in the time of Pope Sergius I (687-701) and probably earlier. Julian, 30.

⁴⁷ The custom of having all the communicants gather and stand in the chancel or altar space until they approach the altar to kneel and receive the elements has survived in some congregations, particularly in the Western portion of the United States. Likewise the separation according to sex. [Cf. *Formula missae*, this volume, p. 95. P. Z. S.]

⁴⁸ Cf. *Formula missae*, this volume, p. 95; On *Betbüchlein*, see note 6, p. 186.

⁴⁹ The elevation of the host after consecration is a high moment in every celebration of the Mass in the Roman Catholic Church. It was not abolished in Luther's own church until 1542. Its abolition elsewhere at an earlier date had raised the accusation of sympathy with Zwinglian views on the doctrine of the real presence. See Koestlin-Kawerau, II, 578. [See *Formula missae*, this volume, p. 90, and notes 91 and 92, p. 108. P. Z. S.]

⁵⁰ "Jesajah dem Propheten das geschah." This versification of the Sanctus appeared at this place for the first time with a tune by Luther himself. Neither verse nor tune are in Luther's best vein and found

but limited acceptance. An English translation was published by Dr. W. M. Reynolds in the *Evangelical Review*, Gettysburg, 1853, beginning, "Isaiah, filled with deep prophetic awe." Other English translations are mentioned in Julian, Dict. of Hymnology, 584. Cf. *Annotations to Luther's Hymns*, this volume, p. 305.

[^{40b} Cf. Luther's Collects, this volume, p. 329. P. Z. S.]

⁴¹ The whole passage, I Cor. 4:1-8 is given here with musical notation.

⁴² Matthew 6:24-34 is given here, the Gospel for the fifteenth Sunday after Trinity. The musical notation accompanies.

⁴³ The Purification of St. Mary, now known in the Lutheran Church Calendar as the Presentation of our Lord. The day is February 2.

⁴⁴ Literally hungercloth, a blue veil for the altar during Lent, the season of fasting.

⁴⁵ In the Palm Sunday processions, which usually included an ass (Palmesel), the tree branches were cast on and after the ass.

⁴⁶ The pictures of the saints in the churches were also veiled during Lent. On this and the foregoing see Weimar Ed. 30, 257f.

THE ORDER OF BAPTISM TRANSLATED INTO
GERMAN

DAS TAUFF BUCHLIN VERDEUTSCHT

1523

THE ORDER OF BAPTISM NEWLY REVISED

DAS TAUFBUECHLEIN AUFS NEUE
ZUGERICHET

1526

HOW ONE SHALL PROPERLY AND INTELLI-
GIBLY BAPTIZE A PERSON INTO THE
CHRISTIAN FAITH

WIE MAN RECHT UND VERSTAENDLICH
EINEN MENSCHEN ZUM CHRISTEN-
GLAUBEN TAUFEN SOLL

1523

DAS TAUFF BUCHLIN VERDEUTSCHT
DURCH MART. LUTHER

Wittenberg MDXXiii

INTRODUCTION

Very soon after the publication of the *Von ordenung got-tis diensts ynn der gemeine* Luther issued *Das Tauff Buchlin verdeutscht*, The Order of Baptism translated into German. This was nothing other than a translation of the customary Roman Order used at Wittenberg at that time with but few changes. The *Exorcism* of the original Order was abbreviated; the *Credo* immediately preceding the Lord's Prayer was omitted at this place, thus giving the Lord's Prayer its true character, prayer: the Creed appearing later again in the questions; and instead of the Collect *Deus patrum nostrorum* Luther inserted the so-called *Sindflutgebet*.

The reasons why this Order was translated and issued, and why he did not make any radical changes in it, are stated quite explicitly in the statement appended at first by Luther to the Order and later printed as a Preface.

DAS TAUFBUCHLEIN AUFS NEUE
ZUGERICHTET

1526

No more could Luther remain completely satisfied with the Order of Baptism as time passed than could his friends and others who were sympathetic to the Reformation Movement. Dissatisfaction with the Order due to the espoused and thoroughly confessed Evangelical principles and to the presence of such a mass of ceremonies which only served to becloud the glory of the sacrament brought about independent efforts in revision in some localities. Some of

Luther's friends expressed opposition to the continuance of the Order in the form in which it was and hoped for a change that would not be so offensive. Nicolas Hausmann was one of the latter. At all events Luther undertook a revision, and revision it was! The result is this Order.

The revision amounted to a very thoroughgoing abbreviation of the original Order. Luther made the following changes. One can almost see him sitting with a copy of the old Order before him and marking out the changes.

The *exsufflatio* is omitted, although the words are retained; the two prayers, *Omnipotens sempiterne deus* and *Deus immortale praesidium* are combined to make one prayer; the giving of salt,—*datio salis*,—is dropped; only one of the forms of exorcism is retained, and the reason upon which the exorcism is based is omitted; the prayer, *Aeternam ac justissimam pietatem* is omitted; the salutation before the Gospel is omitted; the *Hephata* is omitted; the two anointings before and after the baptism are omitted; the placing of a lighted candle in the child's hand is omitted; the words said when the christening robe is put on the child are omitted and the words, The Almighty God and Father, etc., substituted.

Radical changes indeed, the majority dealing with the "ceremonies." But there were no new additions in material or any revolutionary changes in the structure!

The new Order became extremely popular. Luther appended it to the Small Catechism and it was included in many of the contemporary Church Orders.

WIE MAN RECHT UND VERSTAENDLICH EINEN MENSCHEN ZUM CHRISTENGLAUBEN TAUFEN SOLL

1523

Whether this brief Direction is a forgery or a genuine Luther writing is a question. It parallels the Baptismal Office in the Bamberg Agenda of 1491 and reveals no departures from the customary rite, so at least it is an authentic evidence of the Office at Luther's time.

John Aurifaber printed it in his supplementary volume in 1564, evidently accepting it as genuine. It has been included in all of the large editions of Luther's works since; but from time to time its authenticity has been questioned.

In the face of the objections to its genuineness enumerated in Weimar 12, p. 48, and of the very summary dismissal by Rietschel (*Lehrbuch d. Lit.* 2:64), it may seem bold to include it in our edition. But we are convinced that the objections start at the wrong place, and for that reason are open to question. No objection advanced seems to recognize the fact that Luther had to feel his way, pass through many marked transitions in liturgical matters, and as his natural inclinations were *not* in these directions (as exhibited quite often by vacillation and uncertain taste) he could well be expected to take just such a step as this little order exhibits, much in the nature of a trial, and one not well thought out! Then, too, the objectors do not give the burgo-masters of that period very much credit when they insinuate that none of them would be interested in approaching Luther about such a matter. One can credit readily such interest on the part of many of these devoted and pious men; and it is not beyond probability that there might be a personal reason in the family life of one of these officials which would have moved him to make such a request of Luther. Is it unlike Luther to meet such a request in a way such as this?

The year 1523 marks the beginning of Luther's expressions in writing concerning liturgical matters. He evidently met these matters as they arose and were forced upon him. This Direction, for it is that more than an Order, would quite naturally stand as a *beginning* and probably antedated both the *Von Ordnung* and the first formal *Tauff buchlin*. That it is a mere German exhibit of the Bamberg Agenda's Office is decidedly not against it, as the Bamberg Use was that to which Luther was accustomed.

The little writing has by no means been proven spurious on the arguments advanced by some critics.

Literature: Weimar 12:38ff—text 42ff; 19:531ff—text 537ff. Walch 10:2624f. Erlangen 22:157ff. Clemen 3:310ff.

Richter, *Kirchen Ordnungen*, 1:7ff

Sehling, *Kirchen Ordnungen*, 1:17f

Daniel, *Codex liturgicus*, 2:185ff

Hering, *Hüfsbuch*, 143ff

Höfling, *Das Sac. d. Taufe*, 2:150ff

Jakoby, *Liturgik d. Reformatoren*, 1:301ff

Rietschel, *Lehrbuch d. Lit.*, 2:63ff

For comparison, *Rituale Romanum*, Ed. Ratisbon, 1906, p. 12ff.

PAUL ZELLER STRODACH

DAS TAUFF BUCHLIN VERDEUTSCHT

THE ORDER OF BAPTISM

TRANSLATED INTO GERMAN BY

MARTIN LUTHER

Wittenberg 1523

¶ *The administrator blows three times under the child's eyes and says:*

Depart thou unclean spirit and give room to the Holy Spirit.¹

¶ *Then he signs him with a cross on his forehead and breast, and says:*

Receive the sign of the holy cross both on thy forehead and breast.²

Let us pray.³

O Almighty, Eternal God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: Look upon this N.— Thy servant, whom Thou hast called to instruction in the faith; drive away from him all the blindness of his heart; tear loose all the devil's shackles with which he is bound; open to him, Lord, the door of Thy grace, so that marked with the sign of Thy wisdom he may be free of the stench of all evil lusts and serve Thee joyfully according to the sweet odor of Thy commandments in Thy Church and grow daily and be made meet to come to the grace of Thy baptism to receive the healing unto life; through Christ our Lord. Amen.⁴

Let us pray again.⁵

O God, Thou deathless Comfort of all who need, Saviour of all who cry to Thee and Peace of all who pray to Thee, Life of the believers, Resurrection of the dead: I cry to Thee

for this N.—, Thy servant, who prays for the gift of Thy baptism and desires Thy eternal grace through spiritual regeneration; receive him, Lord, and as Thou hast said, Ask and ye shall receive; seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you: so give now the reward to him that asketh and open the door to him that knocketh so that he may obtain the eternal blessing of this heavenly bath and receive the promised kingdom of Thy grace; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

¶ *He now takes the child and puts salt into his mouth, and says:*

N.—, receive the salt of wisdom: may it^a aid thee to eternal life. Amen. Peace to thee.⁷

Let us pray.⁸

Almighty, Eternal God, Who, according to Thy righteous judgment, didst condemn the unbelieving world through the flood and, in Thy great mercy, didst preserve believing Noah and his family; and Who didst drown hard-hearted Pharaoh with all his host in the Red Sea and didst lead Thy people Israel through the same on dry ground, thereby prefiguring this bath of Thy baptism; and Who, through the baptism of Thy dear Child, our Lord Jesus Christ, hast consecrated and set apart the Jordan and all water as a salutary flood and a rich and full washing away of sins: We pray through the same Thy groundless mercy, that Thou wilt graciously behold this N.— and bless him with true faith in spirit, that by means of this saving flood all that has been born in him from Adam and which he himself has added thereto may be drowned in him and engulfed, and that he may be sundered from the number of the unbelieving, preserved dry and secure in the Holy Ark of Christendom, serve Thy Name at all times fervent in spirit and joyful in hope, so that with all believers he may be made worthy to attain eternal life according to Thy promise; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Therefore thou malign, detestable devil, acknowledge thy

judgment, and give glory to the true and living God; give glory to His Son Jesus Christ and to the Holy Ghost; and depart from this N.—, His servant: for God and our Lord Jesus Christ has, of His goodness, called him to His holy grace and blessing, and to the fountain of baptism so that thou mayest never dare disturb this sign of the holy cross ✠ which we make on his forehead; through Him Who cometh again to judge, etc.*

So hearken now, thou miserable devil, adjured by the Name of the Eternal God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and depart trembling and groaning together with thy hatred, conquered, so that thou wilt have nothing to do with the servant of God who now seeks that which is heavenly and renounces thee and thy world, and who shall live in blessed immortality. Give glory therefore, now, to the Holy Ghost Who cometh and descendeth from the loftiest height of heaven to destroy thy deceit and treachery; and, having cleansed the heart with the divine fountain, to make it ready as a holy temple and dwelling place of God, so that this servant of God, freed from all guilt of the former evil, may always give thanks to the eternal God and praise His Name everlastingly. Amen.

I adjure thee, thou unclean spirit, by the Name of the Father ✠ and of the Son ✠ and of the Holy Ghost ✠, that thou come out of and depart from this servant of God, N.—, for He commands thee, thou miserable one—He Who walked upon the sea and stretched forth His hand to sinking Peter.³⁰

Let us pray.³¹

Lord, Holy Father, Almighty Eternal God, from Whom cometh all the light of truth, we beseech Thine eternal and most tender goodness that Thou wilt shed Thy blessing upon this N.—, Thy servant, and enlighten him with the light of Thy knowledge; cleanse and sanctify him; give him right understanding that he may be made worthy to come to the grace of Thy baptism; that he may hold fast to a sure hope, true counsel, and holy teaching, and be made meet for the grace of Thy baptism; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The Lord be with you.

Answer: And with thy spirit.

The Gospel of Saint Mark.

Response: Glory be to Thee, Lord.

At that time they brought little children to Jesus, that He should touch them. But the disciples threatened those that brought them. When Jesus saw this, it annoyed and grieved Him, and He spake to them: Let the little children come to me, and do not prevent them, for of such is the kingdom of heaven. Truly, I tell you, he who does not accept the kingdom of God as a little child, will not enter into it. And He took them to His heart and laid hands on them and blessed them.

¶ *Then the priest lays his hand on the head of the child and prays the Our Father together with the sponsors who have knelt.*¹²

¶ *Then he takes spittal with his finger and touches the right ear therewith and says:*¹³

Ephthah, that is, Be thou opened!

¶ *Then the nose and the left ear.*

But thou, devil, flee, for God's judgment cometh speedily.¹⁴

¶ *Then the child is led into the church, and the priest says:*¹⁵

The Lord preserve thy coming in and thy going out from now on to eternity.

¶ *Then the priest requires the child to renounce the devil through his sponsors, and says:*¹⁶

N.—, dost thou renounce the devil?

Response: Yes.

And all his works?

Response: Yes.

And all his ways?

Response: Yes.

¶ *Then he asks:*¹⁷

Dost thou believe on God the Almighty Father, Creator of heaven and earth?

Response: Yes.

Dost thou believe on Jesus Christ, His only Son our Lord, born and suffered?

Response: Yes.

Dost thou believe on the Holy Ghost, a holy Christian Church, the Communion of Saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and after death an eternal life?

Response: Yes.

¶ *Then he anoints the child on the breast and between the shoulders with holy oil, and says:*¹⁸

And I anoint thee with healing oil in Jesus Christ our Lord.

¶ *And asks:*¹⁹

Dost thou desire to be baptized?

Response: Yes.

¶ *Then he takes the child and dips*²⁰ *him in the font, and says:*

And I baptize thee in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.²¹

¶ *Then the sponsors shall hold the little child in the font*²² *and the priest signs him with a cross with the oil on the crown of his head, and says:*²³

The Almighty God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who hath regenerated thee through water and the Holy Ghost, and hath forgiven thee all thy sin, anoint thee with the salutary oil to eternal life. Amen.

Peace be with thee.

Response: And with thy spirit.

¶ *While the sponsors continue to hold the child in the font, the priest shall put on him the christening hood,*²⁴ *and say:*

Receive the white, holy, and spotless robe which thou shalt bring without spot before the judgment seat of Christ so that thou mayest receive eternal life. Peace with thee.²⁵

¶ *Then he is lifted from the font and the priest puts a candle in his hand.*

Receive this burning torch and preserve thy baptism blameless, so that when the Lord cometh to the wedding thou mayest go to meet Him and enter with the saints into the heavenly mansion and receive eternal life. Amen.²⁶

NOTES ON ORDER OF BAPTISM TRANSLATED INTO GERMAN
BY MARTIN LUTHER

¹ *Rituale Romanum*, 13: *Exi ab eo* . . .

² RR, 13: *Accipe signum crucis* . . .

³ Omnipotens sempiterne deus, pater domini nostri Jesu Christi, respicere digneris super hunc famulum tuum, quem ad rudimenta fidei vocare dignatus es, omnem cecitatem cordis expelle; disrumpe omnes laqueos sathane, quibus fuerat colligatus; aperi ei domine ianuam pietatis tue: ut signo sapientie tue imbutus omnium cupiditatum fetoribus careat: et ad suavem odorem preceptorum tuorum letus tibi in ecclesia tua deserviat et proficiat de die in diem: ut idoneus efficiatur accedere ad gratiam baptismi percepta medicina. Per eundem Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.—

Gelasian Sacramentary. Muratori, I: 533; Wilson, 46. Gerbert, Lit Allemanica, I: 249, II: 6.

Gregorian, Muratori, II: 60, cf. 152.

Lietzmann, 49; Oratio ad catechumenum faciendum.

Magdeburg Agenda, 1497.

⁴ Luther's Collects are annotated in this volume, see below p. 319ff.

⁵ Deus immortale praesidium omnium postulantium, liberatio supplicum, pax rogantium, vita credentium, resurrectio mortuorum, te invoco super hunc famulum tuum N. qui baptismi tui donum petit ac eternam consequi gratiam spiritali regeneratione desiderat, accipe eum domine. Et quia dignatus es dicere Petite et accipietis, quaerite et invenietis, pulsate et aperietur vobis, petenti itaque premium porrige et ianuam pande pulsanti ut aeternam celestis lauachri benedictionem consecutus promissa tui muneris regna percipiat. Per Christum dominum nostrum.

Gregorian, Muratori, II, 155.

Magdeburg Agenda.

RR. 33: *Ordo Baptismi Adultorum*.

⁶ That is *Wisdom*, not the salt; the German is *die*; deliberately made this by Luther.

⁷ RR, 14: *Accipe sal sapientiae* . . .

⁸ *The Sündflutgebet*. On Luther as the author of this prayer, see: Daniel, 2: 192; Höfling, 2: 53f; Jakoby, 1: 303. See also Drews, *Beiträge zu Luthers liturgischen Reformen*. V, 112ff.

For the Latin collect, which evidently contributed some of the elements of the prayer, see RR, 14: *Deus patrum nostrorum*. . . See also, this volume, pp. 321, 323.

⁹ RR, 15: *Ergo maledicite* . . .

¹⁰ RR, 15: *Exorciso te, immunde spiritus* . . .

¹¹ Eternam ac mitissimam pietatem tuam deprecor domine sancte pater omnipotens aeternae deus qui es auctor luminis et veritatis, ut super hunc famulum tuum N. benedictionem tuam infundas, ut digneris eum illuminare lumine intelligentiae tuae, munda eum et sanctifica, da illi scientiam bonam ut dignus efficiatur ad gratiam baptismi tui, teneat firmam spem, consilium rectum, doctrinam sanctam, ut aptus sit ad percipiendam gratiam baptismi tui. Per eundem Christum d. n.

Magdeburg Agenda.

Gelasian Sac.—Wilson, 49.

RR., 15.

RR., 16.

RR., 17: *Ephpheta* . . .

RR., 17.

RR., 16.

RR., 17.

RR., 18.

¹⁷ RR, 17.

¹⁸ RR, 18.

¹⁹ There were three modes of administering baptism in use at this period: *immersio*, i.e. total immersion of the child in the font; *superfusio*, i.e. holding the naked child over the font and pouring water over him profusely; *infusio*, i.e. dipping only the head of the child in the font. Luther strongly favored immersion Cf. his *Sermon on the Sacrament of Baptism*, Erlangen Ed. 21:229. One of the early editions of the Tauffbuchlin has an interesting cut on the title page depicting the baptism of a child. The administrator is holding the infant on his left hand over the font and is pouring water over his head from his right hand. Two sponsors, a man and a woman, stand to the right of the font, and a server, holding an open book toward the administrator, stands to the left. In the lower left-hand corner the date '24 is quite plain, the artist's initials are undecipherable. The mode authorized in the *Rituale Romanum*, p. 18, is pouring on the infant's head in the sign of the cross, but where customary, the child may be immersed.

²¹ RR, 18: *Ego te baptizo*. . .

²² That is, over the font.

²³ RR, 19: *Deus omnipotens*. . .

²⁴ *Hauben*, hood, in this Order; *Westerhembd*, christening robe, in the Revised Order. The term is derived from *vestis*, the white cloth placed over the naked child immediately after it had been baptized,—immersed. So present RR, 19. Dressing those who have been baptized in white is a most ancient Christian custom.

²⁵ RR, 19: *Accipe vestem*. . .

²⁶ RR, 19: *Accipe lampadem*. . .

MARTIN LUTHER TO ALL CHRISTIAN READERS, GRACE AND PEACE IN CHRIST OUR LORD¹

Martinus Luther

Since I see and hear daily with what indolence and little earnestness,—I will not say, with frivolity,—the high, holy and comforting sacrament of baptism is administered to little children,—I think one reason for this is that those who are there present do not understand anything of what is said and done,—because of this state of affairs I have thought it would not only be profitable but that it is also necessary to administer this Sacrament in the German language. And I have therefore begun to do in German what was heretofore performed in Latin, namely, to baptize in German, in order that the sponsors and others present may be incited the more to faith and earnest devotion, and the priests who administer the baptism show more concern for the good of the hearers.

In all Christian earnestness I ask all those who administer baptism, who hold the children, or witness it, to take to heart this admirable work and its great seriousness and solemnity. For here in the words of this prayer you hear how plaintively, pitifully, and earnestly the Christian Church concerns itself about the little child, and confesses before God in straightforward words, which cannot be doubted, that he is possessed by the devil and is a child of sin and disfavor, and prays so diligently for help and for grace through baptism so that he may become a child of God.

Therefore please remember that it is by no means a light matter or a bit of fun to take sides against the devil and not only to drive him away from the little child but to load on his little shoulders such a mighty and life-long enemy. Remember, too, that it is very necessary to aid the poor child with all your heart and strong faith; to intercede for him earnestly, that God, in accordance with this prayer, will not

only loose him from the power of the devil, but also strengthen him, so that like a good knight he may resist him in life and death. And I suspect that the reason why people turn out so badly after baptism is that our concern about them has been so indifferent and careless and that at their baptism we interceded for them with but little earnestness.

Now remember, too, that in baptism the external things are the least important; such as, blowing under the eyes, signing with the cross, putting salt into the mouth, putting spittle and clay in the ears and nose; anointing the breast and shoulders with oil, signing the crown of the head with the chrism, drawing on the christening-robe, and placing a burning candle in the hand, and whatever else has been added thereto by man to beautify the (office of) baptism. For most assuredly baptism can be performed without all these and they are not the sort of devices and practices from which the devil shrinks or flees. He sneers at greater things than these! There must be real earnestness here.

Rather make this your concern, to be present in true faith, and to hear God's Word and unite earnestly in the prayer. For when the priest says, *Let us pray*, he is exhorting you to unite with him in the prayer. And all sponsors and the others present should repeat with him the words of his prayer in their hearts to God. For this reason the priest should say this prayer very clearly and slowly so that the sponsors may hear and comprehend it and also pray with him with one accord in their hearts, carrying the little child's need before God most earnestly, setting themselves against the devil with all their strength on behalf of the child, and conducting themselves most earnestly,—because this is no light matter as far as the devil is concerned.

For this reason it is quite right and proper not to allow drunken and coarse priests to baptize, or to accept loose persons as sponsors, but choose excellent, moral, earnest, pious priests and sponsors of whom one is assured that they will administer the matter solemnly and in true faith, so that the holy sacrament is not made a mockery of the devil and a dishonor to God who in this showers upon us the super-

abundant and infinite riches of His grace, which He Himself calls a new birth, and through which we are freed from all the devil's tyranny, loosed from sin, death, and hell, become children of life and heirs of all God's possessions and God's own children and Christ's brethren. Ah, dear Christians, let us not value and administer such an unspeakable gift so indolently and indifferently; for baptism is our only comfort, and entrance into all godly blessings and all holy intercourse. God help us. Amen.

As yet I have not desired to make any marked changes in the Order of Baptism. As much as I might be willing to endure it, it could have been better prepared, for it had careless masters whom the glory of baptism itself did not inspire sufficiently. But in order not to frighten weak consciences, I allow it to remain quite as it was, in order that they do not complain that I want to institute a new baptism, and criticize those who were baptized in the past as persons not properly baptized. For, as I have said, there is not much value in the human additions; the important thing is to be concerned about the baptism itself, together with God's Word, proper faith and earnest prayer. Herewith the matter is committed to God. Amen.

NOTE ON MARTIN LUTHER TO ALL CHRISTIAN READERS

¹This statement in a very short time became the Preface to the Order. Even some of the editions in 1523 carry it as such.

DAS TAUFBUECHLEIN
AUF S NEUE ZUGERICHTET

1526

THE ORDER OF BAPTISM
NEWLY REVISED

Mar. Lu.

¶ *The administrator says:*

Depart thou unclean spirit, and give room to the Holy Spirit.

¶ *Then he signs him with a cross on his forehead and breast, and says:*

Receive the sign of the holy cross both on thy forehead and breast.

Let us pray.

O Almighty, Eternal God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: I cry to Thee for this *N.*—, Thy servant, who prays for the gift of Thy baptism and desires Thy eternal grace through spiritual regeneration; receive him, Lord, and as Thou hast said, Ask and ye shall receive; seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you, so give now the blessing (1523: *lohn*—reward) to him that asketh and open the door to him that knocketh so that he may obtain the eternal benediction of this heavenly bath and receive the promised kingdom of Thy grace; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Let us pray.

Almighty, Eternal God, Who, according to Thy righteous judgment, didst condemn the unbelieving world through the flood and, in Thy great mercy, didst preserve believing Noah and his family; and Who didst drown hard-hearted Pharaoh with all his host in the Red Sea and didst lead Thy people Israel through the same on dry ground, thereby prefiguring this bath of Thy baptism; and Who through the baptism of Thy dear Child, our Lord Jesus Christ, hast consecrated and

(207)

set apart the Jordan and all water as a salutary flood and a rich and full washing away of sins: We pray through the same Thy groundless mercy, that Thou wilt graciously behold this *N.*— and bless him with true faith in spirit, that by means of this saving flood all that has been born in him from Adam and which he himself has added thereto may be drowned in him and engulfed, and that he may be sundered from the number of the unbelieving, preserved dry and secure in the Holy Ark of Christendom, serve Thy Name at all times fervent in spirit and joyful in hope, so that with all believers he may be made worthy to attain eternal life according to Thy promise; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

I adjure thee, thou unclean spirit, by the Name of the Father ✠ and of the Son ✠ and of the Holy Ghost ✠ that thou come out of and depart from this servant of Jesus Christ, *N.*— Amen.

Let us hear the Holy Gospel of St. Mark.

At that time they brought little children to Jesus, that He should touch them. But the disciples threatened those that brought them. When Jesus saw this, it annoyed and grieved Him, and He spake to them, Let the little children come unto me, and do not prevent them, for of such is the kingdom of heaven. Truly, I tell you, he who does not accept the kingdom of God as a little child, will not enter into it. And He took them to His heart and laid hands on them and blessed them.

¶ *Then the priest lays his hands on the head of the child and prays the Our Father together with the sponsors who have knelt.*

Our Father, Who art in heaven, Hallowed be Thy Name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done, as in heaven and on the earth; Our daily bread give us today; And remove from us our guilt as we free our debtors; And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from the evil. Amen.

¶ *Thereupon the little child is led to the font, and the priest says:*

The Lord preserve thy coming in and going out from now on to eternity.

¶ *Then the priest requires the child, through his sponsors, to renounce the devil, and says:*

N.—, dost thou renounce the devil?

Answer: Yes.

And all his works?

Answer: Yes.

And all his ways?

Answer: Yes.

¶ *Then he asks:*

Dost thou believe on God the Almighty Father, Creator of heaven and earth?

Answer: Yes.

Dost thou believe on Jesus Christ, His only Son our Lord, born and suffered?

Answer: Yes.

Dost thou believe on the Holy Ghost, a holy Christian Church, the Communion of Saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and after death an eternal life?

Answer: Yes.

Dost thou desire to be baptized?

Answer: Yes.

¶ *Then he takes the child and dips him in the font, and says:*

And I baptize thee in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

¶ *Then the sponsors shall hold the little child in the font, and the priest shall say while he puts the christening robe on the child:*

The Almighty God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who hath regenerated thee through water and the Holy Ghost and hath forgiven thee all thy sin, strengthen thee with His grace to everlasting life. Amen.

Peace with thee.

Response: Amen.

HOW ONE SHALL PROPERLY AND INTELLIGIBLY BAPTIZE A PERSON INTO THE CHRISTIAN FAITH, BRIEFLY INDICATED BY DOC.

MAR. LUTHER, AT THE REQUEST OF AN
UPRIGHT BURGOMASTER

1523

The baptizer says: How are you named? *The sponsor answers:* Peter or something else. *The baptizer:* Do you renounce the devil and all his works and all his pride and pomp? *The sponsor:* I renounce. *The baptizer:* How are you named? *The sponsor:* Peter or something else. *The baptizer:* Do you believe in God the Father, the almighty Creator of heaven and earth? *The sponsor:* I believe. *The baptizer:* Do you believe also in Jesus Christ, His only Son our Lord, who was born of Mary and suffered? *The sponsor:* I believe. *The baptizer:* Do you believe also in the Holy Ghost, a Christian Church, Communion of saints, Forgiveness of sins, Resurrection of the flesh and an eternal Life after death? *The sponsor:* I believe. *The baptizer to the child:* The sign of the holy cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, I make for you on your forehead. The sign of the Redeemer, our Lord Jesus Christ, I make for you on your breast. Accept the sign of the cross of Christ, as on the forehead, so also in the heart. Receive the faith of the heavenly commandment, conform your life thereto, that you may be a temple of God, and acknowledge with joy, since you have entered into the Church of God, that you have escaped the snares of the devil. Have a horror of the idols; despise their likenesses; keep before your eyes God the almighty Father and Jesus Christ His Son, Who with the same Father and the Holy Ghost lives and reigns one God in eternity. Amen.

The baptizer takes salt in the fingers and casts it in the child's mouth, and says: Receive the salt of wisdom, thou, to whom God is gracious, unto eternal life. The peace be with you. *The baptizer says, when the child is carried into the church:* The Lord guard thy entering in and going out from now on unto eternity.

AT THE FONT

The baptizer says: How are you named? *The sponsor:* Peter or something else. *The baptizer:* Do you renounce the devil and all his works and all his pride and pomp? *The sponsor:* I renounce. *The baptizer:* How are you named? *The sponsor:* Peter or something else. *The baptizer pours water on him and says:* Ego baptizo te in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. *In German (this is):* I baptize you in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. *The baptizer says to the child when he puts the christening robe on him:* Receive a white garment, which you shall bear before the judgment seat of Christ, so that you (may) have eternal life. The peace be with you.

Amen.

A SHORT METHOD OF CONFESSING TO THE
PRIEST, FOR THE USE OF SIMPLE FOLK

EINE KURZE WEISE ZU BEICHTEN, FÜR DIE
EINFÄLTIGEN, DEM PRIESTER

EIN KURZE WEISE ZU BEICHTEN, FUER DIE
EINFAELTIGEN, DEM PRIESTER

1529

A SHORT METHOD OF CONFESSING TO THE
PRIEST, FOR THE USE OF SIMPLE FOLK

This short Form of Confession, the Evangelical substitute for the Roman method for auricular confession, is appended to the *Small Catechism*, First Wittenberg Edition, 1529.

Reverend, dear Sir: I beseech you, for God's sake, give me good counsel for the comfort of my sul.

What then do you desire?

Answer: I, miserable one, confess and lament to you before God that I am a sinful and weak creature. I do not keep God's commandments; I do not rightly believe the Gospel; I do nothing good; I cannot bear ill; especially I have committed . . . *N.*— . . . and this,¹ which burden my conscience. Therefore, I beseech you that in God's stead you will declare forgiveness to me and comfort me with God's Word.

Another Form of Confession.

I confess before God and you, that I am a miserable sinner and full of all sin, of unbelief, and of blasphemy. I also feel that God's Word is not bringing forth fruit in me. I hear it, but I do not receive it earnestly. I do not show the works of love toward my neighbor; I am incensed, full

of hate and envy toward him. I am impatient, avaricious, and inclined to everything that is evil. Therefore my heart and conscience are heavy and I would gladly be freed of the sins. I plead, please strengthen my little faith and comfort my weak conscience by means of the Divine Word and promise.

Why dost thou desire to receive the Sacrament?

Because I desire to strengthen my soul with God's Word and tokens and to obtain grace.

But in this Office thou dost obtain forgiveness of sin.

And why not? But I want to add God's token also to the Word; and to seek God's Word frequently is much the better.

NOTE ON A SHORT METHOD OF CONFESSING

¹ Here the penitent enumerates in particular the sins which distress him.

A MARRIAGE BOOKLET FOR SIMPLE PASTORS

EIN TRAUBUECHLIN FUER DIE EINFELTIGEN
PFARHERR

1529

EIN TRAUBUECHLIN FUER DIE EINFELTIGEN PFARHERR

1529

INTRODUCTION

Luther begins the Foreword to his proposed Order for Marriage with an old saying, "Many lands, many customs." It could have been narrowed down to, "Many customs in this land"; for local, provincial, and national practices and uses in connection with marriage rites were many.

Luther's approach to the task before him is characteristic and reveals a careful consideration of the whole question from the Evangelic point of view and his arrival at a fairly certain conclusion. He is proposing this Order of Marriage not as a form in itself or as a binding ordinance but as an example of how to proceed when those who purpose entering the estate of matrimony desire pastoral ministration. Here is not an ordering by the Church or even for the Church. This is a model, embodying certain traditional customs, tested and accepted, and developing this particular ministry on Evangelic principles.

The rite of marriage is considered and frankly acknowledged to be a civil action and therefore under the control of civil authority. With this Luther does not quarrel nor interfere in the slightest degree. Only when the express desire is present for the pastor to act may the "spiritual" enter; not as of right, but as a free ministration. It is Evangelical ministration as over against ecclesiastical functioning.

The situation at Luther's day seemed to emphasize the claim of the Church for complete control in validating marriage and governing its various preliminary steps. Over against this the civil tradition remained,—a growing accumulation through centuries, fostered by government and enactment,—which still made its claim felt. The Church was forcing two things: A sacramental conception of marriage and her right as superior to civil government. The question of the relation of Church to State and vice versa entered

here. And the Reformation Movement was trying to solve this question along with many others. Luther meets it fairly in this document in so far as it concerns the external marriage rite and its relation to society.

The Church however, in process of time, had accommodated herself to much of the civil tradition in order to gain her end,—authority, and had added functions peculiar to her own purpose. "Many lands, many customs" might be asserted again; for even with the Church emphasizing her power, the situation is not clear. The commixture of the civil and the ecclesiastical (the latter in some parts "spiritual") continued to raise legal questions, did not "standardize" the method, nor did it prevent abuses, such as clandestine marriage, etc., or surround the estate or the rite with sanctity and place upon it a spiritual idealism.

Before examining Luther's work, it is necessary to gain a general view of the situation in so far as fairly normal customs obtain.

The marriage rite in Teutonic lands, in early Middle Ages, was recognized entirely as a family function. This paralleled the early Roman conception. After preliminary matters, such as contract payment, dowry arrangement, etc., had been arranged satisfactorily, the contracting parties plighted their troth in the presence of the father of the bride, or her guardian, or another relative. This consisted first in a statement by the groom, that he took N.— to be his wife. The bride on her part replied with similar words. Then the ring was placed on the fourth finger of the bride's left hand by the groom, and thereupon at the word of the father, or guardian, they joined right hands, testifying thereby to their purpose; and with a statement of the fact of their mutual consent the ceremony was completed. This originally was the extent of the marriage rite, but other,—a great variety of,—customs were connected with it.

In the course of the next few centuries, and under the growing influence of the Church, the rite was developed into a longer function consisting of a number of consecutive parts; but it continued to remain a civil contract and ceremony.

The betrothal, as described above, was the first step. This was still presided over by a layman but in the presence of

the parish priest. This act was regarded as the "Declaration of Intention." The next step was the publication of this intention publicly by the priest in the church that N. and N. purposed to enter into the estate of matrimony. This publication of what later became known as the Banns was intended to bring to light any legal hindrances and prevent the marriage of persons related within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity. The publication took place three times (high days or Sundays) and then the contracting parties made their *Kirchgang*, that is, they went to the church, which was usually the most imposing structure in the town, situated facing an open square. Here in public, before the church, with a layman again as officiant but with the priest present, the contracting parties again exchanged their statement of acceptance, attesting it by joining their right hands (and giving the ring, if this had not been done at the betrothal). The statement legalizing the marriage then followed made by the layman.

About the thirteenth century the Church began to gain full control of the ceremony. The parish priest is now normally the functionary at the betrothal, which is conducted much in the same manner as before, but prayer and a short benediction follow the Declaration of Intention. Publication of the Banns is an ecclesiastically ordered procedure, with canonically promulgated restrictions governing the relation of the contracting parties. The banns must be published from the pulpit (choir) three consecutive Sundays. During certain seasons weddings are not to be consummated. The priest acts at the function before the church, where after a fourth announcement (publication) the interchange of consent is followed by personally spoken vow, attested by joining right hands, the blessing and giving of the ring (rings), and the declaration on the part of the priest of the union consummated in the sight of God and "solemnized" by himself.

Immediately the priest leads the wedding party into the church for the celebration of the Nuptial Mass (*Missa pro sponso et sponsa*) with which is connected the Benediction of the Marriage (*Benedictio nuptiarum*¹). The sacramental character of marriage and necessity for ecclesiastical approval and consummation were the ultimate outcomes of the Church's objective here.

Luther refused to accept this conception of marriage. Ultimately marriage, to him, is not a sacrament, nor an ecclesiastical action *per se*. It is a civil act, perpetuating a Divine institution, true; but one dealing distinctly with "worldly" ends, even though the priest be the officiant. The "spiritual," not as opposed to the worldly but as necessary companion, functions thus far,—in blessing in the Name of God and praying for the Divine favor to rest upon those entering this *holy* estate.

Luther does not cast aside tradition, either civil or ecclesiastical, as he works toward his purpose. He accepts important elements of both, but he places an element of freedom on the use which is distinctly new. Again this is an emphasis of the Evangelic principle.

With the "civil" he is not concerned, either to order or govern custom or method; authority must regulate this. But there is no choice left except to respond when "anyone desires us to bless them . . . pray over them . . . marry them . . ." "We are in duty bound to do this." If so much honor and ceremonial display has been connected with the consecration of monks and nuns in the past, an estate purely human in invention, "how much more should we honor this Divine estate and in a much more magnificent way bless, pray, and adorn it?" Then, too, this (our) ministry should be active to the end that the holiness and seriousness of this estate should be emphasized over against the frivolity and burlesquing of the world, so that by common prayer and blessing persons may enter it in the fear of the Divine Creator and Ordainer.

Luther follows the traditional in dividing the rite into three distinct but related actions.

First,—the *Publication of the Banns*. This is not to discover illegal impediments primarily, but to ask for the prayer of the congregation in behalf of the contracting persons, that they may initiate their purpose in God's Name and under His blessing. The exhortation to present information regarding impediments is secondary. The tone of this act has been changed completely. It is now a spiritual action.

Second,—the *Marriage* proper. This as formerly takes place *before* the church. Much of the traditional form is retained, but simplified. Each of the parties is questioned

in turn as to consent. Then the ring (rings) is given. Whereupon in testimony they join right hands, and the officiant pronounces, "What God has joined together . . ." This is a new element . . . scriptural. Then the officiant pronounces the marriage consummated,—since they have acknowledged their purpose publicly "before God and the world,"—"In the Name of the Father, etc."

Third,—The *Benediction before the Altar*. The Nuptial Mass is ignored entirely, the Nuptial Benediction likewise. Slight reminiscences of phrases from collects are found in the closing prayer which Luther provided. This Office is wholly evangelical; it is built of Scriptures and prayer . . . the Benediction of the Word and Prayer which Luther in another writing says is the only right benediction. The Scriptures record the Divine institution and matters related to the estate. The order is: Divine institution, Genesis 2: 18, 21-24; Holiness, spiritual earnestness of the estate, Ephesians 5: 25-29; Subjection, mutual relations, Ephesians 5: 22-24; Burden, cross, Genesis 3: 16-19; Comfort, blessing, Genesis 1: 27, 28, 31; Proverbs 18: 22.

The benediction is in the form of prayer, prayed with hands outstretched over the groom and bride.

Luther accomplished a number of things with this Order. He admitted the place of the civil right in marriage and continued it; this is the "worldly" side. He denied the sacramental character fabricated by the Church, but on the other hand declared its Divine institution and purpose and its spiritual values; this was the "religious" sphere. He qualified the action of the Church through her ministry by making it dependent upon desire (invitation), not right, restricting the action to "solemnization," i.e., pronouncement, intercession and benediction.

The Reformation Movement had already produced a number of Marriage Orders prior to Luther's. One issued at Wittenberg in 1524 was ascribed to Bugenhagen, but this he refused to admit. It was Evangelical and broke away from Roman practice and was used widely. This Wittenberg order served somewhat in the nature of a model to Luther in his own work. There are points of agreement but Luther goes quite a bit farther. His Order is much closer to the traditional and is much more full liturgically. While this historic element is evident in Luther's Order it is not as dis-

tinctively a liturgical accomplishment as his Order for Baptism. However his purpose was single and simple: to provide an Evangelical model for the procedure at a marriage.

Literature: The *Traubüchlin* will be found in

Walch 10: 854

Erlangen 23: 207

Weimar 303: 74

Clemen 4: 100

Daniel, *Codex*, 2: 315ff.

Hering, *Hülfsbuch*, 151ff

See also Höfling, *Urkundenbuch*, 173ff

Kliefoth, *Lit. Abhandlungen*, I, 1, 147ff

Cf. Legg, *Sarum Missal*, 143ff: *Ordo ad facienda sponsalia* (Benediction and Missa)

Missale Romanum, [91] *Missa pro sponso et sponsa*

Rituale Romanum, 221, *De sacramento matrimonium*; 224, *Ritus celebrandi matrimonii sacramentum*

And the very fine Introduction to the Luther Order in Weimar as above, page 43ff.

PAUL ZELLER STRODACH

NOTE ON INTRODUCTION TO A MARRIAGE BOOKLET

¹ Some old Missals reverse this order.

EIN TRAUBUECHLIN FUER DIE EINFELTIGEN*
PFARHERR

Mart. Luther

Wittemberg

(At the end of book:)

Gedruckt zu Wittemberg durch Nickel Schirlentz

M. D. XXIX

A MARRIAGE BOOKLET FOR SIMPLE* PASTORS

Mart. Luther

Wittemberg

(At the end of book:)

Printed at Wittemberg by Nickel Schirlentz

1529

Martinus Luther

"Many lands, many customs" is a common saying. Since marriage and the marriage state is a worldly business, it behooves us pastors or ministers of the Church not to attempt to order or govern anything connected with it, but to permit every city and land to continue its own use and custom in this connection. Some lead the bride to the church twice, both evening and morning. Some only once. Some announce it formally and publish the banns from the pulpit two or three weeks in advance. All such things and the like

* It is well-nigh impossible to render *einfeltigen* satisfactorily in English by using one word. Luther has the *average* pastor in mind, who did not have any great amount of education.

I leave to the lords and the council to order and arrange as they see fit: it does not concern me.

But should any one desire us to bless them before the church or in the church, to pray over them, or also to marry them, we are in duty bound to do this. For this reason I have desired to offer this advice and form to those who do not know anything better, in case some should desire to follow our custom in this matter. The others who know all about it, that is, who do not know anything about it but permit themselves to think that they do know all about it,—well, they do not need this service of mine,—except that they may be overwise and conceited about it and should guard themselves very zealously lest perchance they do something that somebody else does! Otherwise one might think that they might learn something from somebody else, and that certainly would be a great pity.

Since it has been customary up to the present to surround the consecration of monks and nuns with such great ceremonial display, (even though their estate and organization are an ungodly and purely human invention which does not have any foundation in the Scriptures,) how much the more should we honor this Divine estate and in a much more magnificent way bless, pray, and adorn it? For even if it is a worldly estate it does have God's Word in its favor and was not invented or instituted by men, as was the estate of the monks and nuns. Therefore, too, it should be accounted more spiritual than the estate of the cloisterettes,—yea, a hundred times more so,—which in truth should be considered the most worldly and fleshly of all, because it was fabricated and instituted out of flesh and blood and is above all the invention of worldly cleverness and wisdom.

And for this reason, too, in order that the young people may learn to regard this estate seriously and honor it as a Divine creation and command, and not act so disgracefully in connection with it and make fools out of themselves with their laughing and mockery and the like frivolity, as has been customary heretofore, just as if it was a joke or child's play to enter into the marriage state or to have a wedding.

Those who at the first instituted the practice that one should lead the bride and bridegroom to church, truly did not regard it as a joke but as a very earnest matter; for there is no doubt but that they were seeking the blessing of God thereby and the common prayers, and were not making a ridiculous burlesque out of it or a bit of heathenish monkey business.

Thus, too, the act in itself reveals its earnestness. For whoever desires prayer and blessing from the pastor or bishop shows thereby indeed,—even if he does not express it in so many words,—into what peril and need he is entering and how greatly he stands in need of the Divine blessing and common prayer for the estate which he is undertaking. And this serious situation can be seen daily in the misfortunes caused by the devil in the marriage estate with adultery, unfaithfulness, discord, and all manner of ill.

Therefore, we will deal in the following way with the bridegroom and bride,—if they desire and ask it.

(I)

First, publish the banns from the pulpit with such words as these:

Hans N. and Greta N. desire, according to the Divine institution, to enter the holy estate of marriage; they desire that common, Christian prayer be made on their behalf so that they may begin it in God's Name and prosper therein.

And should any one have anything to say against it, let him speak in time or hereafter keep silence. God grant them His blessing. Amen.

(II)

Before the church marry them with words such as these:

Hans, dost thou desire Greta to thy wedded wife?

¶ *He says:* Yes.

Greta, dost thou desire Hans to thy wedded husband?

¶ *She answers:* Yes.

¶ *Then the pastor lets them give each other the wedding ring and joins their right hands together, and says:*

Matt.
19: 6

What God has joined together, let no man put asunder.

¶ *Thereupon he speaks in the presence of all:*

Since Hans N. and Greta N. desire each other in marriage and acknowledge the same here publicly before God and the world, in testimony of which they have given each other the hand and the wedding ring, I pronounce them joined in marriage, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

(III)

Before the altar he reads God's Word over the bridegroom and bride. Genesis, the second chapter.

Gen. 2:

18, 21-24

And God the Lord said: It is not good that man should be alone; I will make a helpmeet for him who can be with him. Then the Lord God let a deep sleep fall on the man, and he went to sleep; and he took one of his ribs and closed the place with flesh. And God the Lord fashioned a wife out of the rib, which he took from the man, and brought her to him. Then the man said: This was at one time bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh. She shall be called Woman, because she was taken from man. Therefore a man will leave his father and his mother and cling to his wife and the two will be one flesh.

¶ *Thereupon he turns to both of them and speaks to them thus:*

Eph. 5:
25-29

Since both of you have given yourselves to the marriage estate in God's Name, hear first of all God's commandment concerning this estate. Thus speaketh St. Paul: Ye men love your wives just as Christ loved the Church and gave himself for her so that he might sanctify her and purify her through water in the word and present her to himself a glorious congregation without spot or blemish or any such thing, but that she might be holy and blameless. Thus also should men love their wives as their own body. He who loveth his wife loveth himself. For no one has ever yet

hated his own flesh but has nourished it and cared for it as also the Lord for the congregation.

The wives are to be subject to their husbands as unto the Lord, for man is the head of the woman just as Christ is the head of the congregation and he is the Saviour of the body. But as now the congregation is subject to Christ, so shall the wives be subject to their husbands in all things. Eph. 5: 22-24

Second hear also the curse which God has placed upon this estate. God spake thus to the woman: I will cause thee much sorrow when thou dost conceive. Thou shalt give birth to thy children with much sorrow, and thou shalt yield thee to thy husband, and he shall be thy lord. Gen. 3: 16-19

And God spake to the man: Since thou hast listened to the voice of thy wife and eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee and said, Thou shalt not eat thereof, Cursed be thy field for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou nourish thyself therefrom all thy life long; thorns and thistles shall it bear thee, and thou shalt eat the grass of the field. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread until thou returnest again to earth from which thou wast taken. For thou art earth and shalt become earth.

Third; and this is your comfort that ye may know and believe that this estate is pleasing to God and is blessed by Him. For thus it is written: God created man in his own image; yea, in the image of God created he him. He created them, a man and woman. And God blessed them and said to them: Be fruitful and multiply yourselves and fill the earth, and make it subject unto you, and reign over the fish in the sea and the birds in the heaven and over all animals that crawl on the earth. And God saw everything that he had made, and behold, all was very good. Therefore Solomon also says: He who obtains a wife, obtains a good thing and will receive favor from the Lord. Gen. 1:27, 28, 31
Prov. 18: 22

Here he spreads forth his hands over them and prays thus:

O Lord God Who hast created man and woman and hast ordained them for the marriage bond and hast typified therein the sacramental union of Thy dear Son, the Lord Eph. 5: 25-32

Jesus Christ, and the Church, His Bride: We beseech Thy groundless goodness and mercy that Thou wouldest not permit this Thy creation, ordinance and blessing to be disturbed or destroyed, but graciously preserve the same through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

ORDINATION OF MINISTERS OF THE WORD

ORDINATIONSFORMULAR

1535-1539

ORDINATION OF MINISTERS OF THE WORD

INTRODUCTION

The Formula for Ordination here translated is ascribed to Luther without question, although in many particulars it resembles an earlier form issued by Bugenhagen.

It is not a liturgical Order but an Office to be used in connection with the formal Order of Divine Service. The Office customarily followed the Epistle at some places, at others it was introduced immediately after the Sermon.

In the strictest sense it cannot be regarded as a liturgical action nor a liturgical form, even though it carries the marks of formality. Nor can it be classed either with Luther's Order of Baptism or with his Order for Marriage. It is not primarily an Office of the Church. It must be considered as being an official *congregational* action, resembling somewhat the traditional Roman Induction, but bearing no resemblance whatever to the Roman Order for Ordination. The sense of "good order" only required the designation of proper persons to conduct the Examination and the "Ordination."

The Office was born of necessity and bears witness to the complete severance with Rome on the doctrine of the priesthood.

The time had come when pastors were needed to serve vacant congregations. The number of men who had been consecrated to the priesthood in the Roman Church and who espoused the cause of the Reformation grew less and less. Men to meet, fill, the growing need had to be found elsewhere,—in the Movement itself.

As long as previously ordained priests became Evangelical pastors and preachers the question of ordination did not arise. But when someone who had not been ordained determined to enter the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments, the practical question of how it was to be done presented itself and had to be met.

George Röer, who had not been ordained a priest, claims to have been the first to receive "Evangelical ordination."

This was at Wittenberg on May 14, 1525, at the hands of Luther. Luther ordained him Dekan of the Stadtpfarrkirche by prayer and the laying on of hands and confirmed (publicly ratified) his call and inducted him into his office. He had received his regular "call" on May 3 through Luther.

Luther and his co-workers defined "ordination" to be a regular (*ordentliche*—rite) call to the office of the Ministry (Pfarramt) in a specific congregation *and* the official (congregational) confirmation (ratification of the same publicly) at a service by the congregation concerned. But the latter was not absolutely required to make the relation effective; the regular call was sufficient.

Anything in the nature of rite or ceremony as such, or act of consecration was wholly unnecessary; more it was irrelevant to the whole purpose and nature of the function. There was no "priesthood" involved other than that which every Christian had through his baptism.

Luther writes, "To ordain is not to consecrate. Therefore, if we know a pious man we single him out and through the power of the Word which we possess we give him authority to preach the Word and to administer the Sacraments. This is to ordain." (W. 15: 721.)

Luther's conception of ordination is not a liturgical one but consists essentially in the regular call to the preaching office (Predigtamt),—to preach the Word and to administer the Sacraments,—and in the transmission of this office to the candidate. Out of this, out of this alone, the congregational ceremony develops.

Four elements make up this "ordination":—1. The examination of the candidate as to his worthiness and fitness; 2. election to the office; 3. confirmation and commendation in the presence of the (calling) congregation; 4. the Church's intercession for the chosen candidate. Emptied of such elements as a confession of faith, a vow of faithfulness, and any formal statement of the transmission of the office, such "ordination" carries every characteristic of a formal induction (installation).

But whatever the characteristics good order required some sort of official control and administration, and a fair amount of uniformity in procedure. Luther's Formula

provided the latter, and different authorities, governmental or ecclesiastical, the former. Certain persons in the different localities were thus designated to conduct the examination into vocation and fitness, and usually one was designated to act as ordinator. At Wittenberg, the theological faculty acted in the first part and Bugenhagen was appointed to officiate as ordinator. Luther acted in this capacity in Bugenhagen's absence.

Luther's Office is usually dated around 1535. The Formula is preserved in a number of recensions which appeared beginning with that date; the last of these is dated 1539. This Ms., first published by Rietschel, is considered the best text; our translation has been made from this recension.

After introductory rubrics relative to the examination of the candidate and ordering an admonition through preaching and intercession for the Ministry, the ordinator, presbyters and ordinand kneel before the altar.

The choir then sings the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, after which a versicle and response introduce the collect *Of the Holy Spirit*. This versicle and response and collect are evidently said in Latin. All rubrical directions likewise are in Latin. The remainder of the Formula is in the vernacular.

Then the ordinator standing before the altar reads the lesson. This is the apostolic summary of the duties of the office and an exhortation to faithfulness and watchfulness.

The ordinator then addresses the ordinand briefly, ending with this question,—the only one asked,—“Are you now ready to do this?”

Upon the ordinand's affirmative answer, the whole presbytery and the ordinator lay their hands on the ordinand's head and the ordinator prays the Lord's Prayer. After this another prayer, developed from the first three petitions of the Lord's Prayer, may be said.

Then follows a brief Scriptural address to the ordinand by the ordinator, whereupon he imparts the blessing to him, using the sign of the cross.

The congregation then sings the hymn *Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist*, after which Holy Communion is celebrated, the ordinand being the first to receive the Sacrament.

Literature:—The various recensions of the Formula will be found in Weimar 38:423ff. See the same volume, p. 401ff, for an excellent introduction.

The translation has been made from the 1539 recension as found in Weimar as above and in Hering, *Hülfsbuch*, p. 155ff. See also Sehling, *Kirchenordnungen*, I: 24ff.

Cf. also Höfling, *Urkundenbuch*, 137ff; Kliefoth, *Lit. Abhandlungen*, I: 341ff; Rietschel, *Lehrbuch d. Lit.*, II: 405ff; 427ff; and Rietschel, *Luther und die Ordination*.

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ORDINATION OF MINISTERS OF THE WORD

1539

First,—An examination having been made,¹ either on this or on a preceding day, if they¹ are found worthy, after being admonished through preaching, prayer shall be made by the Church for them and for the whole ministry, to wit, that God would deign to send laborers into His harvest, and preserve them faithful and constant in sound doctrine against the gates of hell, etc.

Second,—The Ordinator² and the ministers³ or presbyters⁴ of the Church with the Ordinands⁵ in the midst beside the Ordinator, shall kneel before the altar.

And the choir shall sing: *Veni sancte spiritus.*⁶

Versicle: Create in me a clean heart, O God.

Psalm
51: 10

Response: And renew a right spirit within me.⁷

The customary Collect *Of the Holy Spirit* shall be read.⁸

Third,—This finished, the Ordinator shall ascend the step⁹ and turn with his face to the Ordinands, and standing he shall recite with clear voice I Tim. 3:

Thus writeth St. Paul in the First Epistle to Timothy, in I Tim.
the third chapter: 3: 1-7

This is indeed certainly true, If anyone desires a bishop's office, he desires a precious work. But a bishop must be irreproachable, the husband of one wife, abstemious, temperate, well-mannered, hospitable, clever at teaching, not a wine-bibber, not sharp tongued, not carry on dishonorable business, but he must be gentle, not quarrelsome, not avaricious; one who manages his own home well, who has obedient children in all uprightness;—for if such an one cannot manage his own home wisely, how will he administer the Church of God?—not a novice, so that he does not puff himself up and fall under the judgment of the blasphemer. But he must also have a good testimony from those who are without, so that he does not fall into the ignominy and snare of the blasphemer.⁹

Thus St. Paul admonishes the Elders of the Congregation at Ephesus:

Acts 20:
18-31

Therefore be mindful of yourselves and of the whole flock, among which the Holy Ghost has placed you as bishops, to feed the Church of God which he purchased with his own blood. For this I know, that after my going away terrible wolves will come among you, who will not spare the flock. Also from among yourselves men will arise who will speak false teaching in order to draw disciples to themselves. Therefore be watchful and remember this, that I did not cease for three years, day and night, to warn every one with tears.

Fourth,—The Ordinator addresses the Ordinands in these or similar words:

Herein^o you hear, that we are called to be and are to be bishops, that is, preachers and pastors; that we do not have committed to us the watching over geese and cows, but the Church, which God purchased with his own blood; that we should feed it with the pure word of God, also be on guard and see to it that wolves and sects do not burst in among the poor sheep. For this reason he calls it a precious work.

Also personally we should live decently and honorably, and manage and oversee^u our home, wife, children, and servants in a Christian way.

Are you now ready to do this?^u

He answers: Yes.

Fifth,—Then with the hands of the whole presbytery imposed on their heads, the Ordinator says the Lord's Prayer in a clear voice.^u

Let us pray. Our Father . . .

Then if he desires, or time permits, he may add this prayer, which explains more fully the three parts of the Lord's Prayer.

Merciful God, heavenly Father, thou hast said to us through the mouth of thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, The harvest is great, but few are the laborers; pray the Lord of the harvest that he will send laborers into his harvest.

Upon this thy divine command, we pray from our hearts,

that thou wilt give thy Holy Spirit richly to these thy servants, together with us and all those who are called to serve thy word, so that with great crowds we may be thy evangelists, remain true and firm against the devil, the world, and the flesh, to the end that thy name may be hallowed, thy kingdom increased, thy will be done. Do thou also at length restrain and bring to an end the detestable abomination of the pope, Mohammed, and other sects which blaspheme thy name, hinder thy kingdom, and oppose thy will. This is our prayer—(because thou hast commanded, taught, and assured)—do thou graciously hear, even as we believe and trust, through thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost in eternity. Amen.²³

Sixth,—The Ordinator shall address the Ordinands with these words of St. Peter. I Pet. 5.

I Peter
5: 2-4

Therefore go forth and feed the flock of Christ, which is committed to you, and take good care of it, not being forced to it, but willingly; not for the sake of shameful gain, but of a steadfast heart; not as those who lord it over the people, but be examples to the flock: thus ye will (when the Arch-Shepherd appears) receive the imperishable crown of glory.²⁴

Seventh,—The Ordinator blesses them with the sign of the cross, and uses these or other words:

The Lord bless you that ye may bring forth much fruit.²⁵

After this each one shall return to his own place. And if it is desired, the Church may sing:

Now we pray the Holy Spirit.²⁶

This ended, the presbyter sings: Our Father.²⁷

And the Ordinands shall commune first with the Church, then presently, the Ordinator if he desires, or he may commune with them or after them.²⁸

NOTES ON ORDINATION OF MINISTERS OF THE WORD

²³ That is, the candidates for ordination.

²⁴ Latin, *ordinator*, the English term being merely a transliteration of the Latin but a correct usage. *Ordinandus*, one to be ordained, hence ordinand.

* Minister, presbyter, priest: A variety of terms for the ministerial office. Such use of a group of terms is typical of the unsettled, and one may say indeterminate, state of affairs at Luther's time in matters connected with Liturgy and practice.

* *Veni Sancte Spiritus, reple tuorum corda fidelium: et tui amoris in eis ignem accende: Qui per diversitatem linguarum cunctarum gentes in unitate fidei congregasti. Alleluia. Alleluia. Daniel, Thesaurus hymnologicus, II, 315.*

This Latin antiphon dates at least from the eleventh century. It is used in the Roman Order for Ordination, and appears in the Mass for Pentecost in the *Missale*.

Luther versified this antiphon and added original stanzas, making a hymn of four stanzas of eight lines each.

This hymn, *Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott*, appeared as early as 1524 in *Eyn Enchiridion*, Erfurt.

For the German text see, *Kirchenbuch*, No. 140; cf. also C.S.B. No. 146.

The Order for Ordination of the C.S.B. does not appoint this antiphon, but begins the Office with the *Veni Creator Spiritus*.

* This Versicle and Response are connected with the Collect, *Of the Holy Spirit*. The use of versicle and response with prayer and other forms in Liturgy and Offices is both ancient and widespread.

The Collect would be read by the Ordinator still kneeling, on the completion of the Latin Antiphon.

Note the use of the Latin here. Many of the outstanding and well-known parts of Liturgy and Offices continued to be used in the Latin form throughout the Reformation period.

* The Collect: *Deus, qui [hodierna die] corda fidelium Sancti Spiritus illustratione docuisti: da nobis in eodem Spiritu recta sapere: et de ejus semper consolatione gaudere. Per Dominum . . . in unitate ejusdem Spiritus Sancti Deus. Proper Collect for the Mass of Pentecost. Mis. Rom. and proper Collect of Pentecost, C.S.B., p. 114. See also Order for Ordination, C.S.B., p. 456.*

* That is, the highest step before the altar; in other words, Go to the altar.

* C.S.B., p. 457.

* That is in the foregoing scripture passages.

* Nurture; train.

* Note the simplicity of the obligation and its immediate connection with the scriptural description of the Office.

* Note that the "Form" of Ordination, or the specific act is the "Laying on of hands and prayer"—New Testament; and the prayer is, *of course* (!), the Lord's Prayer.

* See C.S.B., p. 459.

* See C.S.B., p. 459.

* See C.S.B., p. 460.

* *Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist*. For text, see *Kirchenbuch*, No. 139. Stanza one comprised a vernacular hymn of pre-Reformation times. This has been ascribed to Bertholdt of Regensburg who died 1272. Luther took this popular hymn and added three stanzas to it. This first appeared in the *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn*, Wittenberg, 1524. Lutheran practice during the Reformation period and since has been to use this Luther hymn at Celebration of Holy Communion, the Ordination of Ministers, and before the Sermon.

* Possibly a direct entrance into the Consecration of Holy Communion.

* A rather involved rubric which simply means that the Ordinator may commune at whatever place in the Office he pleases!

THE LATIN LITANY CORRECTED

LATINA LITANIA CORRECTA

1528-1529

THE GERMAN LITANY

DEUDSCH LITANEY

1529

LATINA LITANIA CORRECTA DIE DEUDSCH LITANEY

1528-1529

INTRODUCTION

The *Litany of All Saints*, the parent of both of Luther's versions of the Litany, fell into disuse among the churches related to the Reformation Movement at the time of the Carlstadt liturgical reforms. These centered at Wittenberg and took place about 1520-1521. As the influence or example of Wittenberg was far-reaching, reforms effected there were likely to be instituted at other places.

The *Litany of All Saints* was not attacked as some other rites and ceremonies were, because of unevangelical and superstitious character. On the other hand it was regarded highly by Luther, and valued as a form of prayer of great power and spiritual helpfulness. But this Litany had been connected with observances and ceremonies, of long, long standing, which in themselves were viewed with distaste and aversion. This was particularly true of the Processions, where superstition ran riot, and the almost endless repetition of prex and respond seemed to be nothing more than a lot of meaningless mumbling and *plappern*. When these Processions (*Bittgänge*) and the other rites with which the Litany was connected or of which it was a part fell into disuse, the Litany disappeared quite as a matter of course, but not because there was any radical opposition to it in itself except for the lengthy invocation of saints.

There is no evidence bearing witness to the use of the Litany in the churches of the Reformation Movement from 1521 to 1529. Early in the latter year both the *Latina Litania Correcta* and the *Deudsch LitaneY* appear fully established in the use of the Stadtpfarrkirche at Wittenberg. The probability is that both had been prepared by Luther during the latter part of 1528 and introduced into the worship of the Wittenberg church during the late months of the same year, the actual introduction antedating the appear-

ance of the printed forms. At all events Luther writes his close friend Hausmann on February 13, 1529, that they are singing the Litany in the church in Latin and in the vernacular. Just a month later Luther sent a printed copy of the *Deudsch Litaney*, printed with accompanying musical notations, to Hausmann. There is strong probability that the *Latina Litanía Correcta* was also issued in separate form this year, but the earliest print known is in Luther's *Enchiridion piarum precationum*, issued in 1529.

In the light of Luther's statements regarding the Litany in sermons and writings of earlier years, it would be unfair to say that it was necessary to reawaken his interest in it. One doubts that he ever forgot it, or lost interest in it for any length of time. On the other hand, one cannot help but think that he was awaiting the opportune moment for its reintroduction into congregational use. That was what he thought it should be,—the prayer of the congregation *in the church*, dissociated from *Bittgang* or any other rite.

Two things contributed to the reestablishment of the Litany as a congregational prayer form. Whether one or the other led the way is a question; probably the one being present, as a long-standing desire, used the other when it arose as a timely opportunity.

The one was Luther's constant desire to foster congregational worship: to furnish all things needful to this end, that the common people might be able to participate intelligently and heartily and devoutly in the corporate worship. His interest in these matters did not end with the publication of the *Deutsche Messe* in 1526, but continued unfailingly thereafter, showing itself in the writing of hymns and prayers, etc., the publication of hymn books and prayer book. The spiritual interests of the youth were as important to Luther as their elders.' His activity in the sphere of worship always included their advancement in these holy, spiritual exercises as well. With them well trained in these worship uses, not only would the result be to their benefit, but to their elders through them. That the Litany lent itself to this objective, the way in which it was used very shortly (if not immediately) after reestablishment is definite proof, and quite probable evidence that Luther had been thinking of it in just this way.

The other is the timely opportunity. This was occasioned by the terrifying threat of the feared Turk. Some time during October of 1528 Luther began his pamphlet, *Vom Kriege wider die Türken*. In this Luther urges that the Christians be exhorted and taught to pray with great earnestness and in faith. And it would be better not to pray at all than to pray without faith. Then he continues, "For this reason I want processions¹ to be spoken against, as they are a heathenish, vain, unprofitable use; they are more an ostentatious show and empty formality than a prayer. In the same fashion I speak against the saying of many Masses and the many invocations of the saints. But this might help somewhat,—if one would have the Litany sung or read in the churches, especially by the young folk; this might be done at Mass, or at Vespers, or after the sermon." (W. 30, II, p. 118).

According to the letter to Hausmann, of February 13, 1529 (mentioned above), Luther made his own advice effective in the Wittenberg church. Here the *Deudsche Litaneie* was a Lord's Day use, connected with Divine Worship (Mass), and the *Litania Latina* was a ferial use.

Luther provided the musical settings for both. Early (original) prints are with the words set to the music. The indication is for two choirs, singing the prex and respond antiphonally, the congregation joining with the second, responding, choir. Weekdays, the choirs were composed of boys, the responding choir being located in the body of the church in order to be more effective in aiding the congregation to learn the responds. Where these methods could not be carried out, the pastor read the prex and the choir and congregation, or congregation alone, sang or repeated the respond.

Luther's desire was to have the reintroduction of the Litany as widespread as possible. His wish was accomplished very quickly. The *Deudsche Litaneie* in particular appeared in many editions and forms. It was published alone; it was printed with the *Small Catechism*; it appeared in the hymn books; it had its place in his prayer book. Kirchen Ordnungen, which shortly thereafter began to appear in every section of Germany, included it. Here was the great congregational prayer, useful in many contingencies; not only under the threat of the invading Turk, but in

times of need, pestilence, famine, preceding great events, etc.

Notwithstanding the fact that the *Deutsch Litaney* seems to have been the first of the two versions to be published, our opinion is that the Latin version was the first prepared by Luther. The uses to which he had been accustomed *and to which he clung* were Latin. It would seem to be the more natural thing to make the *probe*, the first attempt, in that language when the model was Latin and his whole worship feel and tradition was embedded in a *Latin* liturgical atmosphere. Further, Luther speaks of his Latin version as the *Latin Litany Corrected*; his German version is simply *The German Litany*. Then, too, the Latin version is much fuller than the German. An excision of further material, a compression of the number of petitions, as in the German, would seem to evidence the fact that the German version resulted as a revision of the Latin after the Latin had been given a practical trial in service use. It is far more natural to prune and abbreviate than to enlarge, especially in liturgical forms. The German, no doubt, was the objective; but it was reached through the Latin. Witness the evidence by comparison, as shown in the comparative table appended to this introduction. With the two versions placed side by side, and compared with the original *Litany of All Saints*, one can follow the process fairly plainly. Besides there is other evidence that Luther was inclined to work in this way. This appears in his two *Orders for Baptism*, where the method is exactly this one.² Therefore, we accept the Latin version as the first, and this in turn as the model for the German.

Luther's *Latina Litanía Correcta* is very similar to the *Litany of All Saints*, in form, in order, and in contents. The marked divergences are in the complete omission of the invocation of all saints, the intercessions for the pope and for the departed. His petitions are more concise in expression, and he is much more specific in the things for which he pleads to God. For example, he prays for faithful pastors; against sects; for those who err or are misled; against Satan; for faithful laborers in the Vineyard; for those distressed and afflicted; for the king and princes; for the emperor; for the civil council and for the congregation; for those in danger; for prospective mothers and infants; for children and the sick; for prisoners; for widows and orphans; for enemies and blasphemers; for the fruits of the earth. In this

group of intercessions, Luther has done the largest amount of independent writing in his revision. For a complete survey of the omissions, variations, and insertions, the reader is referred to the appended table of comparisons.

Following the traditional custom of adding special prayers to the Litany, Luther completed both versions with a number of collects. These again are translations of Latin originals.³

In the reform or "correction" of the ancient Litany Luther contributed a lasting gift to the worship life of the Church. The Litany, like his major Orders, were valued as models in every section of the Church of the Reformation; but while this or that section might depart from his Order of Worship, they all accepted the Litany,—Germany, Austria, Scandinavian countries, all perpetuated his versions; and it contributed to the reform of the Litany in England. Today it is preserved and used in the *Kirchenbuch* and in the *Common Service Book*.⁴

Literature:—The translations have been made from the text in Weimar 30, Pt. 3, 29ff (German); 36ff (Latin).

See also:—

Jena 8: 368

Walch 10: 1758

Erlangen 56: 360

On the Litany in general see:

Bingham and Cheetham's, *Dicty. Christian Antiquities*, 2: 999

Bona, *Divin. psalmod.* c XIV, ¶ 4, 1

Calvör, *Rituale*, II, c XVI, ¶ 1

Thalhofer-Eisenhofer, *Lehrbuch d. Lit.*, II, 498ff.

On the Litany in general and Luther's versions see:

Kliefoth, *Zur Gescht. d. Litanei*, (1861)

Liturg. Abhand. 5: 301ff, 373ff, 398ff; 6: 152ff, 225ff, 298ff; 8: 66ff, 243, 369

Schöberlein, *Schatz d. lit. Chor- und Gemeindegesangs*, I, 521; 725ff

Rietschel, *Lehr. d. Lit.*, I, 200f, 294, 358ff, 431, 444, 505 534ff

Realencyc. 3, 11, 524ff, 528ff.

Drews, *Studien zur Geschichte des Gottesdiensts, etc. Beiträge zu Luthers lit. Reformen*, I and II.

The comparative table has been taken from this study, but with this addition: the *Augsberg Breviary*, a conventual use of this immediate period has been also collated.

For the Litany collects see Drews as above and

Althaus, *Zur Einführung in die Quellengeschichte der kirchlichen Kollekten etc.* p. 12f.

It will also be interesting and profitable to compare the *Litany of All Saints* as now used by the Roman Church. For this see the *Rituale Romanum*, (Ratisbon) 91seqq.

PAUL ZELLER STRODACH

NOTES ON INTRODUCTION TO THE LATIN LITANY CORRECTED

¹ Processions—at this period a *Bittgang* with which the Litany always was connected.

² Cf. p. 197ff this volume.

³ See the notes connected with the collects below.

⁴ Reference to both *Kirchenbuch* and *Common Service Book* in the Comparative Table has been omitted as the Notes connected with the versions are used to serve this purpose of comparison.

Magdeburg Breviary ^a 1513 Supplementum—1524 = ()	Breviary Augustinian Eremites	Luther Latina Litania correcta	Luther Deutsche Litanei	Augsberg Breviary
Kyrieleyson Christe eleyson	Kyrieleyson Christe eleyson	Kyrie Christe Kyrie	Kyrie Eleison Christe Eleison Kyrie Eleison	Kyrie Eleison Christe Eleison Kyrie Eleison
Christe audi nos	Christe audi nos	Christe exaudi nos	Christe	Christe audi nos
Christe exaudi nos	Christe exaudi nos	Christe exaudi nos	Erhöre uns	Salvatore mundi
Pater de coelis deus miserere nobis	Pater de coelis deus miserere nobis	Pater de coelis deus Miserere nobis	Herr Got vater ym himmel Erbar ^{vns} dich vber	adiuva nos Pater . . . miserere . . .
Salvator mundi adiuva nos	Fili redemptor mundi deus miserere nobis	Fili redemptor mundi deus Miserere nobis	Herr Got son der welt heiland Erbar ^{vns} dich vber	Fili . . . miserere . . .
	Spiritus sancte deus miserere nobis	Spiritus sancte deus Miserere nobis	Herr Got heiliger geist Erbar ^{vns} dich vber	Spiritus . . . miserere . . .
(Nomina Sanctorum et Sanctarum)	(Nomina Sanctorum et Sanctarum)	(omitted)	(omitted)	Sancta trinitas unus Deus miserere . . . (Nomina SS.)

Magdeburg Breviary 1513 Supplementum—1524 = ()	Breviary Augustinian Eremites	Luther Latina Litania correcta	Luther Deutsche Litanei	Augsburg Breviary
Propitius esto: parce nobis domine	=	=	Sey uns gnedig Verschon unser lie- ber herre got	Propitius esto: parce . . .
(Propitius esto: libera nos domine)	Propitius esto Exaudi nos domine	Propitius esto Libera nos domine	Sey uns gnedig: hilf vns lieber Herre Gott	Propitius . . . libera . . .
A peccatis nostris: libera nos domine	Ab omni malo libera —,	Ab omni peccato Li- bera—,	Für allen sunden Behüt vns lieber Herre Gott	
(A clade et peste)	Ab omni peccato Ab ira tua	Ab omni errore	Für allem yrsal	Ab ira tua: libera . . .
Ab insidiis dyaboli	Ab subitanea et impro- visa morte	Ab omni malo Ab insidiis diaboli	Für allem vbel Für des teuffels trug vnd list	
Ab subitanea et improvisa morte	Ab insidiis diaboli Ab ira et odio et omni mala voluntate	Ab subitanea et impro- visa morte	Für bösem schnellen todt	Ab insidiis . . . libera . . . Ab infestatione de- monum: libera . . . A clade . . . A periculo mortis . . . A subitanea . . . A morte perpetua . . . In hora mortis . . .
	A spiritua fornicatoris			

Magdeburg Breviary 1513 Supplementum—1524 = ()	Breviary Augustinian Eremites	Luther Latina correcta	Luther Deutsche Litanei	Augsberg Breviary
A morte perpetua (Ab omni immundicia mentis et corporis) Ab omni malo	A fulgure et tempe- state = Per mysterium sanc- tae incarnationis tuae Per adventum tuum	A peste et fame A bello et caede A seditione et simul- tate A fulgure et tempe- statibus = (See above) Per mysterium sanctae incarnationis tuae	Für pestilenz vnd tewer zeit Für krieg vnd blut Für auffruhr vnd zwitracht Für hagel vnd vñge- witter Für dem ewigen tod (See above)	Per Genitrice tuam . .
Per (adventum et) na- tivitatem tuam	Per nativitatem tuam	Per sanctam nativita- tem	Durch dein heilig ge- burt	Per nativitatem . . .
(Per baptismum et jeju- nium tuum)	Per baptismum et sanctum jejunium tuum	Per baptismum, jeju- nium et tentationes tuas	Per baptismum . . .	Per baptismum . . .
		Per Agonium et su- dorem tuum san- guineum	Durch dein todkampff vnd blutigen schweis	Per jejunium . . .

Magdeburg Breviary 1513 Supplementum—1524 = ()	Breviary Augustinian Eremites	Luther Latina Litania correcta	Luther Deutsche Litanei	Augsburg Breviary
Per crucem et passionem tuam	=	=	Durch dein Creutze vnd tod	Per crucem et passi- onem tuam . . .
(Per mortem et sepul- tural tuam)	=	=		Per mortem et sepul- tural tuam . . .
Per resurrectionem et ascensionem tuam	Per sanctam resurrec- tionem tuam	Per resurrectionem et ascensionem tuam	Durch dein heiliges auffstehn vnd hymelfart	Per gloriosam resur- rectionem et admir- abilem ascensionem tuam . . .
	Per admirabilem as- censionem tuam			
Per adventum spiritus sancti paracleti	=	=		Per adventum S. S. P.
		In omni tempore tribu- lationis nostrae		Ab omni malo . . .
		In omni tempore fa- cilitatis nostrae		A fulgure et tempe- state . . .
				A morbo malo . . .
				Ab hoste malo . . .
				Ab appetitu inanis . .
				Ab immanentibus pec- catorum nostrorum periculis . . .

Magdeburg Breviary 1513 Supplementum—1524 == ()	Breviary Augustinian Eremites	Luther Latina Litania correcta	Luther Deutsche Litanei	Augsberg Breviary
In die iudicii Peccatores te rogamus audi nos	= = .	In hora mortis = =.	Inn vnser letzten stund Am jüngsten gericht Wir armen sündler bitten Du wollest vns hören lieber herre Gott	In die iudicii . . . Peccatores . . .
Ut pacem (et sanctatē) nobis dones Ut remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrum nobis dones Ut gratiam sancti spir- itus cordibus nostris clementer infundere digneris	Ut nobis parcas Ut nobis indulguas			
(Ut ecclesiam tuam paci- ficare et regere dig- neris)	Ut ad veram poeni- tentiam nos perdu- cere digneris			Ut ecclesiam . . . regere et sublimare.

Magdeburg Breviary 1513 Supplementum—1524 == ()	Breviary Augustinian Eremites	Luther Latina Litania correcta	Luther Deutsche Litanei	Augsberg Breviary
Ut dominum apostolicum et cunctum ecclesiasti- cum ordinem in sancta religione conservare digneris	<p>==</p> <p>... et omnes ecclesi- asticos ordines. . .</p> <p>Ut inimicos sanctae ecclesiae humiliare digneris</p> <p>Ut ecclesiam tuam sanctam regere et conservare digneris</p>		<p>Ut ecclesiam tuam sanctam Catholicam regere et gubernare digneris</p> <p>Und deine heilige Christliche Kirche regieren vnd füren</p>	<p>Ut dominum . . .</p> <p>omnes gradum ec- clesiastici ordinis . .</p>
		<p>Ut cunctos Episcopos, Pastores et minis- tros ecclesiae in sancto verbo et sancta vita servare digneris⁴</p> <p>Ut sectas et omnia scandala tollere dig- neris</p> <p>Ut Errantes et seduc- tos reducere in viam veritatis digneris</p>	<p>Alle bisschoff, pfarr- herr vnd kirchen- diener, ynn heil- samen wort vnd heiligen leben be- halten</p> <p>Allen rotten vnd er- gernissen wehren</p> <p>All yrrigen vnd ver- färten wider bringen</p>	

Magdeburg Breviary 1513 Supplementum—1524 = ()	Breviary Augustinian Eremites	Luther Latina Litania correcta	Luther Deutsche Litanei	Augsberg Breviary
Ut regem nostrum et exercitum christianum (christianorum) perpetua pace conservare digneris	Ut regibus et principibus christianis pacem et veram concordiam largiri (donari) digneris	Ut Satanam sub pedibus nostris conterere digneris	Den Satan vnter vnser fusze treten	Ut regem . . .
		Ut operarios fideles in messum tuam mittere digneris	Trew arbeiter ynn deine erndte senden	
		Ut incrementum verbi et fructum spiritus cunctis audientibus donare digneris	Deinen geist vnd krafft zum wort geben	
		Ut lapsos erigere et stantes confortare digneris		
		Ut pussillanimes et tentatos consolari et adiuuare digneris	Allen betrübten vnd blöden helfen vnd trösten	
		Ut regibus et principibus cunctis pacem et concordiam donare digneris	Allen königen vnd fürsten frid vnd eintracht geben	
		Ut Caesari nostro perpetuam victoriam contra hostes suos donare digneris	Vnsern Kaiser stet sieg widder seine feinde gönnen	

Magdeburg Breviary 1513 Supplementum—1524 = ()	Breviary Augustinian Eremites	Luther • Latina Litania correcta	Luther Deutsche Litanei	Augsberg Breviary
Ut antistitem' nostrum cum omnibus sibi com- missis in sancta (vera) religione conservare digneris	Ut cuncto populo christiano pacem et unitatem largiri dig- neris	Ut principem nostrum cum suis praesidi- bus dirigere et tueri digneris	Vnsern Landherrn mit allen seinen gewalt- igen leiten vnd schützen	Ut cunctum populum
Ut congregationem nos- tram (congregationes nostras) in tuo sancto servitio confortare (conservare) digneris	Ut nos metipsos in tuo sancto servitio con- fortare et conservare digneris			
Ut cunctum populum christianum precioso sanguine tuo redemptum conservare digneris	Ut mentes nostras ad coelestia desideria erigas Ut omnibus benefac- toribus nostris sem- iterna bona retribuas			

Magdeburg Breviary 1513 Supplementum—1524 == ()	Breviary Augustinian Eremites	Luther Latina Litania correcta	Luther Deutsche Litanei	Augsberg Breviary
<p>(Ut animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum requiem aeternum do- nare digneris) Ut aeris temperiem (bo- nam) nobis dones (do- nare digneris)</p>	<p>Ut animas nostras fra- trum propinquorum et benefactorum nos- trorum ab aeterna damnatione eripias.</p>	<p>Ut magistratum et plebam nostram benedicere et custo- dire digneris Ut affictos et pericli- tantes respicere et salvare digneris Ut praegnantibus et lactantibus felicem partum et incremen- tum largiri digneris.</p>	<p>Vnsern Rat vnd ge- meine segnen vnd behüten Allen, so yn not vnd far sind, mit hülff erscheinen Allen schwangern vnd seugern, fröliche frucht vnd gedeyen geben</p>	

Magdeburg Breviary 1513 Supplementum—1524 == ()	Breviary Augustinian Eremites	Luther Latina Litania correcta	Luther Deutsche Litanei	Augsburg Breviary
Ut fructus terrae dare et conservare digneris		Ut infantes et aegrotos fovere et custodire digneris Ut captivos liberare digneris.	Alle kinder vnd kranken pflegen vnd warten Alle gefangene los vnd ledig lassen	Ut pacem nobis dones Ut sanitatem nobis dones . . . Ut fruges terre nobis dones . . . Ut rectum sensum et patientiam bonam nobis dones . . . Ut mortalitatem repellas a nobis . . . Ut gentes paganorum humiliare digneris... Ut remissionem peccatorum nostrorum nobis dones . . . Ut animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum propiciare digneris
		Ut pupillos et viduas protegere et providere digneris	Alle witwen vnd waisen vertheydigen vnd versorgen	
		Ut cunctis hominibus miserere digneris	Aller menschen dich erbarmen	
		Ut hostibus, persecutoribus et calumniatoribus nostris ignoscere et eos convertere digneris ... fruges . . . ==	Vnsern feinden, verfolgen vnd lesteren vergeben vnd sie bekeren Die frucht auff dem lande geben vnd bewaren	
	==			

Magdeburg Breviary 1513 Supplementum—1524 = ()	Breviary Augustinian Eremites	Luther Latina Litania correcta	Luther Deutsche Litanei	Augsberg Breviary
(Ut nobis miseris miserere digneris)	Ut omnibus fidelibus defunctis requiem aeternam donare digneris			
(Ut nos exaudire digneris)	=	=	Vnd vns gnediglich erhören	Ut nos exaudire . . . Ut nos custodire . . .
Fili dei Te rogamus audi nos	=	=	O Jhesu Christ Gottes son Erhöre vns lieber herre gott	Fili dei . . .
Agne dei qui tollis pec- cata mundi parce nobis domine (miserere nobis)	Agnus— =	Agne— =	O du Gottes lam das der welt unde tregt Erbarin dich vber vns	
Agne— miserere nobis	Agnus— exaudi nos domine	Agne— miserere nobis	= =	

Magdeburg Breviary 1513 Supplementum—1524 = ()	Breviary Augustinian Eremites	Luther Latina Litania correcta	Luther Deutsche Litanei	Augsburg Breviary
Agne— dona nobis pacem	Agnus— = miserere nobis	Agne— Da nobis pacem	= Verley vns steten frid	Agne dei . . . dona nobis pacem
Christe audi nos	Christe audi nos			Christe . . .
	Christe exaudi nos	Christe exaudi nos	Christe Erhöre vns	
Kyrieleyson	=	Kyrie eleison	Kyrie eleison	Kyrie . . .
Christeleison	=	Christe eleison	Christe eleison	Christe . . .
Kyrieleison	=	Kyrie eleison	Kyrie eleison Amen	Kyrie . . .
Pater noster	=	Pater noster qui et in coelis etc.		Pater . . .
				Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere: . . .

NOTES ON THE LATIN LITANY CORRECTED

¹ The Magdeburg Brev. and the Brev. of the Augustinian Eremites offer texts which approximate the text to which Luther was accustomed. The *Latina Lit. Cor.* is the text of the *Enchiridion piarum prec.* of 1529. The *Deutsche Lit.* is the text of the *Small Cate.* of 1529.

² Repeated after each prex.

³ Te rogamus etc. follows each prex, beginning *Ut*.

⁴ cf. prex: *Ut dominum apostolicum*.

⁵ Presiding priest, hence Bishop.

LATINA LITANIA CORRECTA

1528-1529

THE LATIN LITANY, CORRECTED

First Choir

Lord, *
Christ,
Lord,

Christ,

Father of heaven, God; —v
Son, redeemer of the world; —v
Holy Spirit, God; —v

Be gracious;
Be gracious;

From all sin;
From all error;
From all evil;

From the snares of the devil; —v
From sudden and unexpected death;
From pestilence and famine;
From war and carnage;
From insurrection and party jealousy;^a

Second Choir

Have mercy.
Have mercy.
Have mercy.

Hear us.

Have mercy.
Have mercy.
Have mercy.

Spare us, Lord.
Free^a us, Lord. —v

Free us, Lord. —v^a

Free us, Lord. —v

* Each prex and respond will be found in the *German Litany*, unless marked "o"—omitted. Where there is a variation the character "v" is used. Unless otherwise noted, each prex and respond will be found in *The Litany of the Common Service Book*; see p. 236 ff, large text edition.

From lightning and tempest; —v Free us, Lord.
From eternal death;

Through the mystery of thy holy
incarnation; —o Free us, Lord. —v

Through thy holy nativity;
Through thy baptism, fasting, and
temptation; —o

Through thy agony and bloody
sweat;

Through thy cross and passion;
Through thy death and burial; —o

Through thy resurrection and ascen-
sion;

Through the advent of the Holy Spirit* Paraclete. —o Free
us, Lord.

In all time of our tribulation; —o* Free us, Lord. —v

In all time of our happiness; —o*

In the hour of death; —v

In the day of judgment; —v

We sinners Entreat thee, hear us.

Thy Church, holy, catho- * lic do thou deign to rule
and govern. —v

All bishops, pastors, and min-* isters of the Church* do
thou deign to preserve
in saving word and
holy life. —v

That thou wouldest deign*
to destroy all sects* and all of-
fences;*^b

We entreat thee to hear
us.

to lead back the erring^a and mis-
led^a into the way of truth; —v
to trample^b Satan under our feet;
to send faithful laborers into thy
harvest;

to grant to all hearers increaseⁿ
in the word and the fruit of the
Spirit; —v

to lift up and encourage the lapsedⁿ
and to strengthenⁿ those who
stand; —o

to encourage and aid the timidⁿ and
tempted;

to give peace and concordⁿ to all
kings and princes;

to give perpetual victory to our Cæ-
sar over his enemies;

to direct and supportⁿ our prince
and his soldiersⁿ;

to bless and guard our magistracy
and people;

to care for the afflicted and deliver
the endangered;

to rejoice the pregnant in their bear-
ingⁿ and nursing mothers in the
growth of their offspring;

to cherishⁿ and guard the infants
and sick;

to liberate the captives;

to protect and care for the orphans
and widows;

to have compassion on all men;

That thou wouldest deign

to forgive our enemies, persecu-
tors, and slanderers, and to con-
vertⁿ them;

We entreat thee to hear

to give and preserve the fruits of us.
the earth;

That thou wouldest deign to hear We entreat thee to hear
us; us.

Lamb of God who bearest the sin of
the world;

Have compassionⁿ on us.

Lamb of God who bearest the sin of the world;	Have compassion on us.
Lamb of God who bearest the sin of the world;	Give peace to us. —v

Christ,	Hear us.
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Lord,	Have mercy.
Christ,	Have mercy.

Lord, have mercy.
Amen.

OUR FATHER, etc. —o

PRAYER

Lord, deal not with us according to our sins:
Neither recompense us according to our iniquities.²⁴

O God, merciful Father, who dost not despise the groaning of the contrite and dost not scorn the emotion²⁵ of the sorrowful²⁶: Be present²⁷ to our prayers which 'mid afflictions that so heavily²⁸ overwhelm us we pour out before Thee, and graciously hear them, so that that which is laid against us as snares,²⁹ the deceits of the devil and of man, may be reduced to nothing³⁰ and scattered according to the counsel of Thy goodness,³¹ to the end that vexed by no reproaches³² we may ever give thanks to Thee in Thy holy Church; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.³³

ANOTHER³⁴

Aid us God of our salvation:³⁵
And for the glory of Thy Name free us, and be gracious to our sins.³⁶

Almighty eternal God, by whose Spirit the whole body of the Church is sanctified and ruled: Hear our supplications for all orders,³⁷ that by the gift of Thy grace Thou mayest be served by all these in pure faith, through Christ, etc.³⁸

ANOTHER

We have sinned with our fathers:

We have dealt unjustly; we have done iniquity.*

O God who dost not permit those who fall to perish as long as they may be converted and live³: Lift freely⁴ the debt of our sins and be graciously present: let not dissimulation⁵ heap up punishment: rather let Thy compassion abound for our sins; through the Lord, etc.⁶

ANOTHER

Enter not into judgment with Thy servant:

Because all living shall not be justified in Thy sight.⁶

Almighty God who knowest that we, placed in so many perils, are not able to stand firmly because of human frailty: Give us health of mind and body, that, Thou aiding, we may conquer those things which, for our sins, afflict us; through the Lord, etc.⁶

ANOTHER

Invoke me in the day of tribulation:

And I will search you out, and you shall honor me.⁶

Spare, Lord, spare us sinners, and although to us who fail unceasingly there should be continual⁷ punishment, be present nevertheless, we entreat,⁸ that what we deserve to [our] eternal destruction may pass from us to aid in [our] correction; through the Lord, etc.⁶

NOTES ON THE LATIN LITANY, CORRECTED

¹ *Libera*:—literally, to set free (a) from slavery, (b) from a debt.

² The respond is repeated after each prex.

³ *simulate*:—lit., enmity toward someone who is like us; therefore, rivalry, feud, dissension. Party jealousy is probably the truest rendering; dissension, next.

⁴ The normal division between prex and respond is not carried out here. The division is as here indicated; the second choir continuing, *Paraclete. Free us, Lord.*

⁵ *tribulationis—foelicitatis*:—a deliberate contrast. It is difficult to indicate the division in these preces. The second choir takes up with the last syllable of *tribulationis* and of *foelicitatis*, thus,—*nis nostrae. Libera nos Domine. . . —tis nostrae, etc.* These divisions are forced by the musical setting of the prex and respond.

⁶ The divisions in the Latin.

⁷ *ministros*:—a term covering the lower orders of clergy and all church servers.

⁸ All of the following preces include the verb *digneris*, and therefore each prex should begin, *That thou wouldest deign*. The word expresses both the humility of the petitioner and the condescension of the one petitioned.

⁹ *sectas*:—exactly what is meant, sects.

¹⁰ *scandala*:—scandals would be better if rightly understood.

¹¹ *errantes—seductos*:—those wandered from the right path; those led or turned aside, seduced; hence, distant from the truth or true way.

¹² *conterere*:—much stronger, grind, crush.

¹³ *incrementum*:—increase by rich growth.

¹⁴ Either morally fallen or through error.

¹⁵ *confortare*:—a word frequently met in Latin collects and really means far more than to strengthen,—to build a mighty wall of protection about as well as to increase the ability,—the morale,—to defend and stand fast.

¹⁶ *pusillanimes*:—insignificant, puny ones, hence timid, which is better than weak.

¹⁷ *concordiam*:—unity, harmony existing between king and people.

¹⁸ *tueri*:—protect, guard, care for.

¹⁹ *praesidibus*:—those who form the guard or escort, or a patrol.

²⁰ Cf. the scriptural phrase, "joyful mother of children."

²¹ *fovere*:—nurture.

²² *convertere*:—both convert in the usual sense and to change the attitude toward.

²³ *miserere*:—pity, be sorry for; then, have mercy upon.

²⁴ *German Litany*, versicle 1. *C.S.B.*, versicle 3.—Ps. 103: 10 Vulgate.

²⁵ *affectum*:—a condition of mind, hence emotions, passions, desires; longing is a possibility.

²⁶ *Moerentium*:—those who are sad, who grieve, who lament.

²⁷ Quaint, but exactly so; "Listen to!"

²⁸ Like a back-breaking yoke.

²⁹ pitfalls, temptations.

³⁰ Thus literally; annihilated; the sense being "may be shorn of all power and made ineffective to attract or harm."

³¹ The good and gracious will of God is to be the active protection; providence does not carry the full force.

³² lit. followings: that is, reproaches of conscience because of yielding to temptations; recriminations, or derisions of the scoffer who sees the fall of the pious. In no case does this mean the temptations themselves.

³³ *German Litany*, collect 1 *C.S.B.* collect 3.

On the sources of the versicles and collects see this edition 319ff and Drews, *Studien zur Geschichte des Gottesdiensts*, etc. Parts IV and V, *Beiträge zu Luthers liturgischen Reformen*, p. 47ff; 53ff. For this collect see p. 55. Althaus, *Zur Einführung in die Quellengeschichte der kirchlichen Kollekten*, etc. p. 12, asserts that Luther used the versions of the old Latin collects for his Litany as they appear in an appendix to the *Psalmorum Liber*, issued by Andreas Crantander, Basel, 1524. Luther's collects preserve the variations from the originals, which the Crantander version shows.

³⁴ This versicle and collect inserted in the 1533 edition, and retained thereafter. *German Litany*, versicle 4.

³⁵ lit., our God of salvation.

³⁶ *German Litany*, versicle 4. *C.S.B.*, versicle 2. Ps. 79: 9.

³⁷ i.e., all ranks of clergy, etc.

³⁸ The collect termination is seldom complete in the original Latin form; usually the briefest of all is used, see the collect 1 above; fre-

quently merely a catch-word such as here, *per Christum, etc.* or *per Dominum*. The priest would, of course, know the remainder to be supplied.

On terminations of collects see *The Common Service Book*, General Rubrics, I, p. 484.

This collect is number 4 in the *German Litany* and in C.S.B. it is number 2. See Drews, p. 57.

³⁹ *German Litany*, versicle 2 with collect 1. Not in C.S.B. Ps. 106: 6 Vulgate.

⁴⁰ Cf. Ezek. 18: 23; 33: 11; 2 Pet. 3: 9.

⁴¹ *vindictam*:—*vindicta* was the rod with which the praetor touched the slave who was to be manumitted.

⁴² i.e. our dissembling or concealing.

⁴³ *German Litany*, collect 2, but compare. C.S.B. collect 1, which follows the *German Litany*. See Drews, p. 58.

⁴⁴ *German Litany*, versicle 3. C.S.B., versicle 4. Ps. 143: 2.

⁴⁵ *German Litany*, collect 3. C.S.B., collect 4. See Drews, p. 59.

⁴⁶ *German Litany*, versicle 2. C.S.B., versicle 5: Ps. 50: 15.

⁴⁷ lasting and uninterrupted.

⁴⁸ that the eternal destruction we deserve may pass from us and this gracious mercy realized be an aid in our correction.

⁴⁹ Luther has evidently combined the address of collect 3 above with the petition of this, and rendering them freely has written collect 2 of *German Litany*. C.S.B., collect 5, follows the original. See Drews, p. 60.

DIE DEUDSCH LITANEY

THE GERMAN LITANY

1529

The First Choir

Lord,
Christ,
Lord,

Christ,

Lord God, Father in heaven
Lord God, Son, Saviour of the
world,
Lord God, Holy Spirit,

Be gracious unto us;
Be gracious unto us;

From all sins,
From all going astray,^s
From all evil,

Against the devil's deception and
trickery,

Against evil, sudden death,
Against pestilence and hard times,
Against war and carnage,
Against insurrection and discord,
Against hail and tempest,
Against eternal death,

The Second Choir

Have mercy.
Have mercy.
Have mercy.

Hear us.

Have mercy upon us.

Spare us, dear Lord God.
Help us, dear Lord God.

Protect^t us, dear Lord
God.

Guard us,^s dear Lord
God.

Grant to all pregnant and nursing
 mothers joyful fruit and increase;
 Nurse all children and sick;
 Set free all prisoners;
 Defend and provide for all widows
 and orphans;
 Have mercy on all men;
 Forgive and convert our enemies,
 persecutors, and slanderers;
 Give and preserve the fruits of the
 land;
 And graciously hear us;

O Jesus Christ, Son of God,²⁰ Hear us, dear Lord God.

O thou Lamb of God that bearest
 the sin of the world, Have mercy upon us.

O thou Lamb of God that bearest
 the sin of the world,

O thou Lamb of God that bearest
 the sin of the world, Grant us abiding peace.

Christ, Hear us.

Lord, Have mercy.

Christ, Have mercy.

Both choirs together

Lord, have mercy.

Amen.²¹

A PRAYER FOLLOWING THE LITANY

Lord, deal not with us according to our sins:
 And requite us not according to our misdeeds.²²

Or,

We have sinned together with our fathers:
 We have transgressed and have been godless.²³

Vol. VI—18.

Lord, almighty God, who dost not disdain the sighs of the forlorn, and dost not despise the longing of [the] troubled hearts: O look upon our prayer, which we bring before thee in our need, and graciously hear us, so that all which striveth against us, both of the devil and of man, may come to naught, and, according to Thy good providence, may be turned away from us, to the end that, unhurt by all temptation, we may thank Thee in Thy Church and praise Thee at all times, through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord. Amen.²⁴

ANOTHER PRAYER

The Lord's anger endureth a moment:
And He taketh pleasure in life.²⁵

Or,

Call upon me, saith the Lord, in the time of need:
And I will save you, and thus thou shalt praise me.²⁶

Lord God, heavenly Father, who dost not take pleasure in the miserable sinners' death, also dost not willingly permit them to perish, but desirest that they become converted and live: We humbly pray Thee, that Thou wilt graciously turn away from us the well-deserved punishment for our sins, and, in order to our improvement henceforth, graciously grant us Thy mercy, for Jesus Christ, our Lord's sake. Amen.²⁷

ANOTHER PRAYER

Lord, enter not into judgment with Thy servant:
For before Thee not a one that liveth will be justified.²⁸

Lord God, heavenly Father, Thou knowest that because of our human weakness we are not able to stand fast amid so many and great dangers: Grant us strength both in body and soul, that, by Thy help, we may conquer all things which harass us because of our sins, for Jesus Christ our Lord's sake. Amen.²⁹

ANOTHER PRAYER²⁰

Help us God of our salvation, for Thy Name's sake:
Rescue us and forgive us our sins, for Thy Name's sake.²¹

Almighty, everlasting God, who, through Thy Holy Spirit, sanctifiest and rulest the whole Church: Hear our prayer, and graciously grant that she with all her members, by Thy grace, may serve Thee in pure faith, through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord. Amen.²²

NOTES ON THE GERMAN LITANY

¹ *Behüt*:—really better *preserve*, as colloquially used: *Behüt' dich Gott*, God preserve you!

² *Irrsal*: deviation from the right path.

³ *Behüt*.

⁴ *Todkampf*.

⁵ *Stund. Kirchenbuch*: *Not*.

⁶ Latin Litany:—*Catholicam*.

⁷ Cf. Latin Litany *in loco*.

⁸ *Gewaltigen*.

⁹ i.e., the body of councillors; possibly, by inference, the government.

¹⁰ This is an addition in the German Litany.

¹¹ Note the omission of the Lord's Prayer.

¹² Ps. 103: 10 Vul.

¹³ Ps. 106: 6 Vul.

¹⁴ See *Kirchenbuch*: The 1 Versicle and Collect appear there as number 3; the 2nd Versicle not used. *C.S.B.* Versicle No. 1 and collect—No. 3.

¹⁵ Ps. 30: 5.

¹⁶ Ps. 50: 15.

¹⁷ *Kirchenbuch*: This Collect as number 1; Versicle 1 not used; Versicle 2 used with Collect 5. *C.S.B.* Versicle 1 not used; Versicle No. 2 and collect—No. 5.

¹⁸ Ps. 143: 2.

¹⁹ *Kirchenbuch*: Versicle and Collect as number 4. *C.S.B.* Ver. and Col. No. 4.

²⁰ This Versicle and Collect appear for the first time in the 1533 edition of the German Litany.

²¹ Ps. 79: 9.

²² *Kirchenbuch*: Versicle and Collect as number 2. *C.S.B.* Ver. and Col. No. 2.

HYMN BOOK PREFACES

HYMN BOOK PREFACES

INTRODUCTION

Circumstances and the laudable determination to provide the common people with evangelical hymns for their worship made of Luther a poet of no mean ability. Thirty-six spiritual hymns from Luther's pen appear in the hymn books of the Reformation period, but in only four of the latter was he directly interested to the extent that it may be said either that he authorized or that he edited the book. For these four books Luther wrote prefaces. These like his hymns were copied, and at times "revised," by ambitious printers and anonymous "editors" whose purposes were not always simple: the purpose being in some cases to make the book appear to have been authorized, and in others simply to capitalize something that had become tremendously popular.

No attempt has been made to render Luther's hymns into English anew for our Edition. The hymn which Luther wrote was, to him distinctively a spiritual song, an element of worship, and not so much a poem; as such it expressed his own spiritual reactions, and in this way he strove to guide the worship of the mass of people loyal to his movement. Naturally the ruggedness of his character and of his way of expressing things also appear in his hymns; besides those peculiar turns of language and unique forms of speech current in those days are met constantly. To express all of this in English form; to translate faithfully, spiritually, and poetically is well nigh an impossible task. As far as our Edition is concerned we are content to leave the hymns of Luther in their original. The reader is referred to more or less satisfactory translations in Miss Catherine Winkworth's *Lyra Germanica*; to the Richard Massie translations; and to the standard hymnals, such as *The Common Service Book*, where various Luther hymns in common use will be found. However these hymns have been briefly annotated for our Edition and these notes will be found following the translation of the Prefaces.

The first of the hymn books in which Luther was directly interested and for which he wrote a Preface was the *Geystliche Gesangk Buchleyn*, Wittenberg, 1524. This is commonly spoken of as "The Walther Choir Book," because Luther called upon the services of Johann Walther, cantor at the palace of Frederick, the Wise, at Torgau, and an intimate friend of Luther's, to assist him in preparing the hymns for singing. Luther's desire was to have the school children taught these hymns first of all and then after they had become familiar with words and melody they would be able to lead the congregational singing, and the people would learn them more rapidly. The Preface for this book has been translated and appears below.

This book contained twenty-four of Luther's hymns as follows :

Nun freut euch, liebe Christen gemein
Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein
Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl
Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir
Ein neues Lied wir heben an
Es wollt uns Gott gnädig sein
Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht steht
Gelobet seist du, Jesus Christ
Jesus Christus, unser Heiland—(Hus' hymn)
Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet
Mitten wir im Leben sind
Jesus Christ unser Heiland, der den Tod überwand
Christ lag in Todesbanden
Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland
Christum wir sollen loben schon (schön)
Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott
Komm, Gott schöpfer, heiliger Geist
Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot
Wir glauben all an Einen Gott
Gott der Vater wohn uns bei
Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin
Mensch, willst du leben seliglich
Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese zeit
Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist

Two other hymnals are contemporary with this first Luther hymnal and each of them contain Luther hymns. It cannot be definitely established whether these appeared earlier than Luther's first hymnal, or whether they were unauthorized ventures on the part of rival printers or publishers, or the work of interested friends. But, in any case, they are valuable for comparison in studying Luther's hymns.

The first of these, sometimes described as the earliest evangelical or Protestant hymnal, but this without definite grounds, bears the title: *Etlich Christlich lider, Lobgesang und Psalm, dem reinen wort Gottes gemess aus der heyligen schrift durch mancherley hoch geleter gemacht, in der Kirchen zu singen, wie es dann zum teyl berayt zu Wittenberg in Übung ist. Wittenberg, 1524.* There is no question relative to the date 1524, but German scholars state that the style of this title definitely establishes the fact that it was not a Wittenberg publication, but South German in origin, probably at Nürnberg. This book is known as the *Achtliederbuch* and contains four of Luther's hymns; the first four in the foregoing list.

The second of these books appeared in 1524 at Erfurt. Its title is: *Eyn Enchiridion oder Handbuchlein, einem ytzlichen Christen fast nutzlich bey sich zu haben, zur stetter Übung und trachtung geystlicher geseng und Psalmen, Recht-schaffen und Kunstlich verteutscht. 1524. Gedruckt zu erfurd yn der Parmentergassen, zum Ferbefass.* This book is known as the *Erfurter Enchiridion*; it contains twenty-five hymns, eighteen of which are Luther's, number one to eighteen in the foregoing list. The book does not bear the name of any editor nor does its Preface have any name connected with it. Both book and Preface have been ascribed to Luther; it would seem that this would not be borne out because Luther signed the Prefaces that he wrote and is known to have resented anonymous and unauthorized publication of his own hymns. But the editor and writer of the Preface of the *Enchiridion*, whoever he may have been, has given this book an original character. It was issued in order to give the congregation,—the common people,—opportunity and means to familiarize themselves with the songs sung in church, so that they would understand what would be going on there. This book may, therefore, be looked upon as a

hymnal for household and private use primarily and not necessarily or distinctively congregational.

In 1529 Luther prepared the second hymn book and wrote a new Preface for it. The title of this book is: *Geistliche Lieder auff's new gebessert zu Wittemberg. D. Mar. Luther. 1529. Gedruckt zu Wittenberg durch Joseph Klug, 1529.*

This is the *Klug Gesangbuch*. It contained fifty-four numbers of which twenty-eight were Luther hymns. In addition to the twenty-four of the Wittenberg Walther Book, the following new hymns were printed here for the first time:

Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich
Jesaia dem Propheten das geschah
Herr Gott, dich loben wir
Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott

Thirteen years later another booklet issued from the Klug press bearing Luther's name and the longest hymn book Preface which he ever wrote. The title of this booklet is: *Christliche Geseng Lateinisch vnd Deudsche, zum Begrebnis. D. Martinus Luther. Wittemberg, Anno 1542. Gedruckt durch Joseph Klug.* Although this did not contain any new hymns it, nevertheless, is unique. It is probably the first hymnal ever prepared for this distinctive and specifically limited use; namely, in connection with the Burial of the Dead. It is the first evangelical collection of this character and must ever be outstanding on account of the explicitness and doctrinal character of its Preface. And the collection of Epitaphs both in direct quotations from Holy Scriptures and in versified form is by no means the least part of Luther's contribution to this particular use. The booklet contains the following Luther hymns:

Aus tiefer Noth
Mitten wir im leben sind
Wir glauben all
Mit Fried und Freud
Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist

The only other hymns in the booklet were Michael Weiss',

Nun lass uns den Leib begraben, and the Latin hymn of Aurelius Prudentius, *Iam moesta quiesce querela*.

The last authorized Luther hymnal appeared in 1545. The title is: *Geystliche Lieder. Mit einer neuen vorrhede. D. Mart. Luth. Leipzig*. At the end of the book is the following colophon:

Gedruckt zu Leipzig, durch Valentin Babst, in der Ritterstrassen. 1545.

This is quite a good sized book. It is in two parts. The first contains eighty-nine hymns with many interspersed prayers, in many cases German translations of proper Collects. After number 80 in this first part there follows a complete reprinting of Luther's *Christliche Geseng Lateinisch und Deudsch zum Begrebnis*, including the Preface to that booklet. Number 37 is *Die deutsche Litaney* and number 38 is the *Latina Litanía Correcta*. The second part includes forty numbers. There are many interesting full page wood cuts and every page is surrounded by an ornamental border. In his Preface, Luther refers to the pains the printer had taken to make this hymnal attractive. He certainly succeeded. It is not only artistic but a beautiful specimen of the printer's art in those early days. The book includes all the Luther hymns already noted in connection with the earlier hymnals, and in addition eight others as follows:

Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her
Sie ist mir lieb, die werthe Magd
Vater unser im Himmelreich
Was fürchtest du, Feind Herodes, sehr
Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam
Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort
Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schar
Der du bist drei in Einigkeit.

Literature:

Geystliche Gesangk Buchleyn

W. Ed., 35:474

B. 8:3

Wa: 10:1722

Geistliche Lieder auff's neu gebessert

W. Ed., 35:475

B. 8:7

Wa: 10:1726

Christliche Gesang Lateinisch und Deutsch zum Begrebnis

W. Ed., 35:478

B. 8:9

Geistliche Lieder

W. Ed. 35:476

B. 8:16

Wa: 10:1724

See also: Koch, E. E., *Geschichte d. Kirchenlieds u. Kirchengesangs*, 3d Ed.

Wackernagel, Ph., *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*.

Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*.

PAUL ZELLER STRODACH

GEYSTLICHE GESANGK BUCHLEYN

Wittenberg MDXXiiii

Commonly spoken of as the
Walther'sche Chorgesangbüchlein

SPIRITUAL HYMN BOOKLET

Wittenberg 1524

Preface by Martin Luther

That the singing of spiritual hymns is a goodly thing and pleasing to God, I do not think is hidden from any Christian, since everyone is aware not only of the example of the kings and prophets in the Old Testament, (who praised God with singing and playing, with poesy and all manner of string music), but also of the universality of this custom in Christendom from the beginning, especially psalm singing. Indeed, St. Paul also instituted this in I Corinthians 14:15, and exhorted the Colossians (3:16) to sing spiritual songs and psalms heartily unto the Lord in order that God's Word and Christian teaching might be propagated by this means and practiced in every way.

Therefore, together with some others, I, too, have collected some spiritual songs as a fair beginning and to offer this as an example and an incentive to those who are better able to do this, in order that the Holy Gospel may be fostered and brought into use, so that we, too, may boast, as does Moses in his song (Ex. 15), that Christ is our praise and song, and that we should know nothing either to sing or to say,

save Jesus Christ, our Saviour, as St. Paul says in I Corinthians 2:2.

And these [songs] are arranged in four parts for no other reason than that I greatly desire the youth, who certainly should and must be trained in music and other proper and useful arts, to have something whereby they may be weaned away and freed from the love ballads and worldly (carnal) songs, and instead of these learn something wholesome and beneficial, and take up good things with enthusiasm, as is proper for the youth. Furthermore I am not of the opinion that all arts are to be cast down and destroyed on account of the Gospel, as some fanatics protest; on the other hand I would gladly see all arts, especially music, in the service of Him who has given and created them. I therefore pray that every pious Christian may be pleased with this, and if God has given him greater or equal gifts in such things, help [this good cause]. Even apart from this, unhappily, all the world is all too negligent and indifferent in teaching and training the youth that one may not be permitted to be the first of all to offer an incentive in this direction. God grant us His grace. Amen.

GEISTLICHE LIEDER
AUFFS NEU GEBESSERT ZU WITTEMBERG
D. MAR. LUTHER

MDXXix

Gedruckt zu Wittemberg durch Joseph Klug

1529

SPIRITUAL HYMNS
NEWLY REVISED AT WITTEMBERG

D(octor) Mar(tin) Luther

1529

Printed at Wittemberg by Joseph Klug

1529

A New Preface by Martin Luther

Now some individuals have shown themselves to be rather clever and have enlarged and revised the hymns to such a degree that they have far surpassed me and they certainly are my masters in this sort of thing. But at the same time they have added very little of worth to the others. And since I realize that this daily, indiscriminate revising and supplementing, according to each individual's fancy, will reach no other end than that the longer our first hymns are printed the more false they will be in comparison with the originals, I fear the same thing will happen ultimately to this little book as has been the fate of good books in all times, namely, that it will be completely submerged by the additions of bungling heads and made a desolate thing so

that the good in it will be lost and only the good for nothing will be kept in use. Just as we see in the first chapter of St. Luke, that at the beginning every one wanted to write gospels until one had all but lost the true gospel among so many gospels. The same thing happened to St. Jerome's and St. Augustine's books. Well, you'll always find mice dirt mixed with the pepper!

In order that we may be protected as much as possible against such an experience in the future, I have gone over this entire booklet once more and have arranged our own hymns in order by themselves and have printed the name in connection with them, something which I refrained from doing previously on account of the distinction or fame but now am driven to this by necessity so that strange and unfit hymns will not be sold under cover of our name. Then after these we have added the others which we consider the best and useful.

I beg and admonish all who love the pure word [more than those who are guilty of such questionable practices], that in the future they will not attempt to improve or enlarge our little book without our knowledge and permission. But where it has been "improved" without our knowledge, let it be known that such is not the little book which was published by us at Wittenberg. Surely every one can get together his own booklet of hymns to suit himself and leave ours alone, just as it is, unaugmented, as we beg, desire, and herewith declare that this is our wish. For we are zealous to preserve our treasure in the value in which we hold it,—not grudging any one the privilege of making a better one for himself,—in order that God's name alone be praised and our name be not sought after. Amen.

CHRISTLICHE GESENG LATEINISCH UND
DEUTSCH, ZUM BEGREBNIS

D. MARTINUS LUTHER

Wittenberg, Anno MDXLii

Gedruckt durch Joseph Klug

CHRISTIAN SONGS LATIN AND GERMAN,
FOR USE AT FUNERALS

D. Martinus Luther

Wittenberg, Anno 1542

Printed by Joseph Klug

To the Christian Reader. D. Mart. Luther.

Christian Songs, Latin and German, for use at Funerals.

1542

St. Paul writes to those at Thessalonica [I Thess. 4: 13], that they should not sorrow over the dead as the others who have no hope, but that they should comfort themselves with God's Word, as those who possess sure hope of eternal life and the resurrection of the dead. For it is no wonder that those who have no hope grieve; nor can they be blamed for this. Since they are beyond the pale of the faith in Christ they either must cherish this temporal life alone and love it and be unwilling to lose it, or store up for themselves, after this life, eternal death and the wrath of God in hell, and go there unwillingly. But we Christians, who have been redeemed from all this through the precious blood of God's

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Son, should train and accustom ourselves in faith to despise death and regard it as a deep, strong, sweet sleep; to consider the coffin as nothing other than our Lord Jesus' bosom or Paradise, the grave as nothing other than a soft couch of ease or rest. As verily, before God, it truly is just this; for he testifies, John 11:21: Lazarus, our friend sleeps; Matthew 9:24: The maiden is not dead, she sleeps. Thus, too, St. Paul, in I Corinthians 15, removes from sight all hateful aspects of death as related to our mortal body and brings forward nothing but charming and joyful aspects of the promised life. He says there [vv. 42ff]: It is sown in corruption and will rise in incorruption; it is sown in dishonor (that is, a hateful, shameful form) and will rise in glory; it is sown in weakness and will rise in strength; it is sown a natural body and will rise a spiritual body.

Accordingly we have driven the pestilential abominations from our churches, such as vigils, masses for the dead, processions, purgatory, and all other mockery and hocus pocus on behalf of the dead. We have abolished all these and have cleaned them out thoroughly and do not want our churches to be houses of wailing and places of mourning any longer, but *koemiteria*, as the old fathers were wont to call them, that is, dormitories and resting places. Nor do we sing any funereal hymns or doleful songs over our dead and at the graves, but comforting hymns, of the forgiveness of sins, of rest, of sleep, of life, and of the resurrection of Christians who have died, in order that our faith may be strengthened and the people may be moved to proper devotion.

For it is also meet and right that one conduct and carry out the burials decently and fittingly in praise and honor of that joyful article of our faith, namely that of the resurrection of the dead, and in defiance and contempt of that dreadful enemy, death, who incessantly devours us so shamefully in all manner of terrible and ghastly forms and ways. Thus, we read the holy patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, etc., conducted their burials with much splendor and and left very explicit directions concerning them. Later the kings of Judah made great show and pomp over the dead,

accompanying this with costly incense composed of all kinds of goodly, precious herbs; all of this was done to smother stinking, shameful death and to praise and confess the resurrection of the dead, so that the weak in faith and the sorrowful might be comforted thereby. Hereto, also, belong the customs which the Christians practiced heretofore and which they continue to practice in connection with the dead and their graves, namely that they are carried forth in splendor, decked beautifully, sung over, and adorned with grave markers. All is to be done for the sake of this article of the resurrection to the end that it be founded in us firmly, for it is our final, blessed, eternal comfort and joy against death, hell, devil and all sorrow.

As a good example to serve to this end we have chosen fine musical settings or songs which are used in the papacy at vigils, masses for the dead, and funerals. Some of these we have had printed in this little book, and purpose in the future to choose more of them,—or whoever is better able than we, can;—but we have substituted other texts to these settings in order to honor our article concerning the resurrection and not to honor purgatory with its torment and satisfaction, on account of which their dead can neither sleep nor rest. The songs and the notes are precious; it would be a shame and a loss were they to disappear; but the texts or words are unchristian, unfit and absurd; these should perish. In the same way they far outstrip us in all other directions: they have the most beautiful services, beautiful, splendid cathedrals and cloisters, but the preaching and the teaching which they practice in these in greater part serve the devil and blaspheme God. For he is the world's prince and god, therefore he must have the most elegant, the best and the most beautiful. They also possess costly, golden and silver monstrances and pictures, embellished with rich ornaments and precious stones, but within are dead bones, quite as probably from the cadavers of the flaying-ground as from other places. They have costly vestments, chasubles, palliums, copes, caps, mitres, but who is under these or clothed

in these? Lazy bellies, evil wolves, godless hogs, who persecute and blaspheme God's Word.

And indeed they also possess many admirable, beautiful musical compositions or songs, especially in the cathedral and parish churches, but they have "beautified" them with many obscene, idolatrous, superstitious texts. Therefore, we have removed such idolatrous, dead and dumb texts, separating them from the noble music, and in their stead we have set the living, holy Word of God, to sing, to praise, to glorify with the same, so that this beautiful ornament, music, may, in proper use, serve her dear Creator and His Christians so that He be praised and honored thereby, but we, through the Holy Word united with sweet song, may be incited and confirmed and strengthened in faith. To this help us God and Father together with the Son and Holy Spirit. Amen.

But it is not our opinion or intention that these precise notes must be sung, just as they are, in all churches; let every church use its notes according to its own book and usage. For I myself do not hear gladly when the notes of a responsory or song have been changed and it is sung among us in a different way from that to which I was accustomed in my youth.

If it is desired to honor the graves in additional ways, it would be fitting to carve or write (paint) good epitaphs on the walls (when there are such) or verses from Holy Scripture, so that they may be present before the eyes of those who go to the funeral or to the church-yard; namely these or the like:

He has fallen asleep with his fathers and has been gathered to his people.

Job 19: 25f I know that my Redeemer lives, and he will waken me out of the earth and I will go about in my body and in my flesh will I see God.

Ps. 3: 5 I laid down and slept and awaked, for the Lord kept me.

Ps. 4: 8 I lay me down and sleep wholly in peace.

Ps. 17: 15 I will behold thy countenance in righteousness; I will be satisfied when I awake in thy likeness.

God will redeem my soul from the power of hell, because Ps. 49: 15 he has accepted me.

The death of his holy ones is held precious before the Ps. 116:15 Lord.

The Lord will remove in this mountain the covering with Is. 25: 7f which all peoples are covered, and the veil (lid) with which all holy ones are shrouded; for he will devour death eternally.

The dead shall live and rise with the body. Awake and Is. 26: 19 sing ye who lie under the earth, for thy dew is the dew of the green field.

Enter, O my people, into thy chamber and close the door Is. 26: 20 after thee; hide thyself a small moment until the wrath be passed over.

The righteous will be snatched away from the calamity, Is. 57: 1-2 and they who have walked uprightly shall enter into peace and rest in their chambers.

Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I will open your graves, and Ex. 37: 12 fetch you, O my people, out of the same.

Many who lie sleeping under the earth will awake, some Dan. 12: 2 to everlasting life, some to everlasting dishonor and shame.

I will redeem them from hell and rescue them from death; Hos. 13: 14 O death, I will be a poison unto you; O hell, I will be a pestilence to you.

I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the Ex. 3: 6 God of Jacob. But God is not a God of the dead but of the 22: 32 living. Matt.

This is the will of the Father, who hath sent me, that I John 6: 39 should lose nothing of all that he has given me, but that I shall raise it up at the last day.

I am the resurrection and the life. He who believes on John 11: 25f me, that one shall live, even though he should die forthwith. And he who lives and believes on me, that one will never die.

No one lives to himself and no one dies to himself. If we Rom. 14: 7-9 live, then we live unto the Lord; if we die, then we die unto the Lord. Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ also died and rose and became alive again, so that he might become Lord over the dead and the living.

- I Cor. 15: 19 If we hope in Christ only in this life, then we are the most miserable among all people.
- I Cor. 15: 22 As in Adam they all die, thus, too, in Christ they all will be made living.
- I Cor. 15: 54-57 Death is swallowed up in the victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? But the sting of death is sin, but the power of sin is the law; but thanks be to God who has given us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.
- Phil. 1: 21 Christ is my life, and death is my prize.
- I Th. 4: 14 If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, so shall God also lead with him those who have fallen asleep through Jesus.

Such verses and inscriptions will ornament the church-yard better than other worldly symbols,—shield, helmet, etc.

If any one were able and had the desire to put such verses into good rhymes, this would be an advantage: they would be remembered more easily and read more gladly. For rhyme or verse make excellent sentences or proverbs, more gladly used than other smooth-flowing words.

[Then follow two versifications of St. Luke 2, the *Nunc Dimittis*, a versification of St. John 11: The Resurrection and the Life; and a versification of Job 19.]

The German songs: *Mit Fried und Freud, Wir glauben all an einen, Nu bitten wir den heiligen, Nu laszt uns den Leib*, etc., may be sung one after the other as one returns homeward from the burial; in the same way, one may use the Latin songs: *Jam moesta quiesce*,¹ *Si enim credimus*,² *Corpora sanctorum*,³ *In pace sumus*,⁴ etc.

NOTES ON CHRISTIAN SONGS LATIN AND GERMAN FOR USE AT FUNERALS

¹ Now cease mournings.

² For if we believe.

³ The bodies of the saints.

⁴ We are in peace.

GEISTLICHE LIEDER

Mit einer neuen Vorrede D. Martin Luthers

Warnung

Viel falscher Meister itzt Lieder dichten.
Siehe dich für, und lern sie recht richten.
Wo Gott hin bawet sein Kirch und sein wort
Da will der Teufel sein mit Trug und Mord.

Leipzig

(At the end of the book:)

Gedruckt zu Leipzig, durch Valentin Babst in der
Ritterstrassen

MDXLV

SPIRITUAL HYMNS

With a new Preface by D. Martin Luther

Warning

Many false masters now hymns indite.
Be on your guard and judge them aright.
Where God establishes His Church and Word
There comes the devil with lie and sword.

Leipzig

(At the end of the book:)

Printed at Leipzig, by Valentin Bapst in the Ritterstrassen

1545

Preface by D. Mart. Luth.

Psalm 96^t declares: Sing to the Lord a new song; sing to
the Lord all the earth! Divine service in the Old Covenant,

under the law of Moses, was very burdensome and laborious, since the people were compelled to offer so many and various sacrifices of all they possessed, both in house and field,—a duty which the people, who were lazy and avaricious, performed very unwillingly or else did it all only to gain temporal benefits. Just as the prophet Malachi asks in the first chapter³: Who is there among you who would close a door for nothing? or kindle a light on my altar for nothing? Now where such a corrupt, unwilling heart exists, it is impossible to sing anything at all or at best nothing good. The heart and mood must be joyful and cheerful if one is to sing. Therefore, God rejected such corrupt and unwilling service, as He Himself says: I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord Sabaoth; and your meat offerings are not acceptable to me at your hands; for from the rising of the sun to its going down, my name is glorious among the heathen, and at all places incense and a pure meat offering are offered to my name. For my name is great among the heathen, saith the Lord Sabaoth.⁸

Now there is a better service of God in the New Covenant; of this the Psalm speaks in this passage: Sing to the Lord a new song; sing to the Lord all the earth! For God has made our heart and spirit joyful through his dear Son, whom he offered for us to redeem us from sin, death, and devil. He who earnestly believes this cannot keep quiet about it; he must sing about it joyfully and exult over it and speak about it so that others also hear and come to it. But he who does not want to sing and speak about it, well, this is plain evidence that he does not believe it and does not belong in the new, joyful Covenant but in the old, corrupt, joyless Covenant [which does not possess or offer much cause for singing].

Therefore, the printers are doing a very commendable work when they print good hymns industriously and make them attractive to the people with all manner of ornamentation, to the end that they may be incited to this joy in believing and gladly sing. In such very pleasing fashion this book of Valtin Bapst has been prepared. God grant that by means

of this (book) great losses and harm may happen to the Roman Pope⁴ who has caused nothing but howling, mourning, and sorrow in all the world through his damned, insufferable, and miserable laws. Amen.

But I must also give this warning: The hymn, which is sung at the grave, *Nun laszt uns den Leib begraben*, bears my name; but it is not mine, and hereafter my name is not to be connected with it. Not that I condemn it, for it pleases me very much, and a good poet wrote it, one named Johann Weiss,⁵ only he erred a bit being somewhat visionary about the Sacrament;—but I will not palm off any one's work as my own. And in *De profundis* the reading should be: *Des muss dich fürchten Jedermann*. Whether by mistake or deliberately in most books the reading is made to be: *Des muss sich fürchten Jedermann*. *Ut timearis*; for the idiom is Hebraic, as Matthew 15:9, In vain they fear (worship) me with human teaching; in Psalm 14:4f and Psalm 53:5f: They do not call on the Lord; there they fear, where there is no need to fear. That is, they know much humility, bending, and bowing in their worship, in which sort of thing I do not want any worship.⁶ So, too, this meaning is here: Since forgiveness of sins cannot be found anywhere except with Thee, they must do away with all of their idolatry, and with willing heart, bow and bend before Thee, crawl to the Cross, and hold Thee only in glory and honor, find refuge in Thee, and serve Thee as those who live by Thy grace and not by their own righteousness, etc.

NOTES ON SPIRITUAL HYMNS

¹ Ps. 96:1.

² Mal. 1:10.

³ Mal. 1:11.

⁴ Whether deliberately or not, a play on words, for which Luther is quite noted:—Valentin *Bapst*—Valentin *Pope*; *römischen Papst*, also spelled *Bapst* at times, the Roman Pope.

⁵ A mista'e by Luther; he evidently meant *Michael Weiss* (Weisse), who was born about 1480, in Neisse, Silesia. He took priest's orders and for a time was a monk at Breslau; but after reading some of Luther's earlier writings, he, with two other monks, abandoned the monastery and took refuge in the Bohemian Brethren's House at Leutomischl. He edited the first German hymnal of the Bohemian

Brethren in 1531, which contained 155 numbers, all apparently either translations or originals by himself. Many of these passed into a wide usage. Luther included a number of his hymns in this Bapst book. Weiss died in 1534.

*That is, they know all about the external form of humility and do a lot of bending and bowing in their worship, but I do not want to be worshiped in mere empty forms.

LUTHER'S HYMNS

LUTHER'S HYMNS BRIEFLY ANNOTATED

Ein neues Lied wir heben an

Title: A new hymn about the two martyrs of Christ who were burned at Brussels by the Louvain Sophists.

Written late 1523 or early 1524.

The occasion: Two Antwerp Augustinians, Henricus Vos and Johannes van den Esschen, after being tried before the Inquisition on account of their adherence to Luther's teachings and on their refusal to recant were burned publicly in the Market Place at Brussels.

See Weimar Edition, 35:91ff; also 12:73ff. Buchwald Ed. 8:23ff. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, 326.

An original hymn in the narrative or story form and typic of the mediæval folksong narrative, a style made popular by the minstrels.

In Wittenberg-Walther (Witt-W)

Erfurd Enchiridion (Er-En)

Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein

Title: A hymn of thanksgiving for the highest blessings which God has shown us in Christ.

First appeared in 1523; in hymnal, 1524; written probably in 1523.

See W. Ed. 35:133 and 422ff. B.8:27ff. Julian, 821. Kirchenbuch, No. 268.

An original hymn.

In Witt-W; Er-En; Achtliederbuch (Acht)

Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein

Title: The 12 Psalm.

Appeared first 1524; written probably prior to Jan. 1524.

See W. Ed. 35:109ff and 415f. B.8:30ff. Julian, 9.

Kirchenbuch, No. 170.

Free versification of a Psalm.

In Witt-W; Er-En; Acht.

Es spricht der Unweisen Mund

Title: The 14 Psalm.

Appeared first 1524; written probably prior to Jan. 1524.

See W. Ed. 35:121ff and 441f. B.8:32ff. Julian, 354.

Versification of a Psalm; admitted one of Luther's weakest hymns.

In Witt-W; Er-En; Acht.

Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir

Title: The 130 Psalm.

Appeared first 1524; written probably prior to Jan. 1524.

See W. Ed. 35:97ff and 421f. B.8:34ff. Julian, 96.

Kirchenbuch, No. 248.

Free versification of a Psalm; one of Luther's finest hymns, much loved and used.

In Witt-W; Er-En; Acht.

Es wollt uns Gott genädig sein

Title: The 67 Psalm.

Appeared first 1524; written probably Dec. 1523.

See W. Ed. 35:123ff and 418f. B.8:36f. Julian, 355.

Kirchenbuch, No. 204.

Free versification of a Psalm.

In Witt-W; Er-En.

In one of the Wittenberg editions of Paul Speratus' translation of Luther's *Formula Missae* (*Ein weyße Christlich Mess zu halten*) this hymn is printed together with John Agricola's *Frölich wollen wir Alleluia singen*, and is considered as being the first "closing hymn" of the Lutheran Chief Service.

Wohl dem der in Gottes furcht steht

Title: The 128 Psalm.

Written probably 1524; appeared first the same year.

See W. Ed. 35:125 and 437f. B.8:37f. Julian, 1291.

Kirchenbuch, No. 344.

Free versification of a Psalm.

In Witt-W; Er-En.

Gelobet seist du Jesus Christ

Title: A song of praise on the Birth of Christ.

Written probably about Christmas, 1523; appeared first 1524.

See W. Ed. 35:147ff and 434f. B.8:38f. Julian, 408. Kirchenbuch, No. 33.

Based on the Latin Sequence, *Grates nunc omnes red-damus*, authorship of which is uncertain. For text see Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnologicus*, II, 5.

A Christmas hymn.

In Witt-W; Er-En.

Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns den Gottes zorn wandt

Title: The hymn of St. John Huss, improved.

About 1524.

See W. Ed. 35:142ff and 435f. B.8:40f. Julian, 598. Kirchenbuch, No. 234.

Virtually an original hymn; inspired merely by the hymn of John Huss.

For comparison: The Huss hymn, *Jesus Christus, nostra salus* see text W. above. Cf. Julian, 598.

For Holy Communion.

Gott sei gelobet und gebenediet

Title: The song, God be praised.

1524.

See W. Ed. 35:181ff and 452f. B.8:42. Julian, 444. Kirchenbuch, No. 243.

Probable inspiration a pre-Reformation sentence-hymn beginning with the same words. This referred to in the *Form. Miss.*

In Witt-W; Er-En.

For Holy Communion.

Mitten wir im Leben sind

Title: The song of praise, In the midst of life we are
The first half of 1524.

See W. Ed. 35:126 and 453f. B.8:43ff. Julian, 721.
Kirchenbuch, No. 539.

Based on the Latin Antiphon, *Media vita in morte sumus*,
whose authorship is ascribed by tradition to Notker.
See Julian, 720.

In Witt-W; Er-En.

Jesus Christ unser Heiland der den Tod überwand

Title: A song of praise on the Easter Festival.

1524.

See W. Ed. 35:160 and 445. B.8:45. Julian, 598.
Kirchenbuch, No. 103.

An original hymn.

In Witt-W; Er-En.

Christ lag in Todesbanden

Title: The song of praise, Christ is risen, improved.

1524.

See W. Ed. 35:155 and 443f. B.8:46. Julian, 225.
Kirchenbuch, No. 102.

Virtually an original hymn, although inspired by the early
spiritual folksong, *Christ ist erstanden*, of the 12th
century. See Julian, 225.

Stanzas 4 and 5 show evident traces of the Latin
Sequence, *Victimae paschali laudes*; for which see
Julian, 1222f.

In Witt-W; Er-En.

Nun komm der Heiden Heiland

Title: The hymn, Now come, Saviour of the Gentiles.

1524.

See W. Ed. 35:149 and 430f. B.8:48f. Julian, 1212.
Not in Kirchenbuch.

A translation of the Latin hymn, *Veni redemptor gentium*,
by Ambrose. Text, Daniel I, 10. Cf. B.8:49; Julian
1211.

In Witt-W; Er-En.

Christum wir sollen loben schon (schön)

Title: The hymn, From the rising of the sun.

1524.

See W. Ed. 35: 150 and 431f. B.8: 50f. Julian, 4. Not in Kirchenbuch.

A free translation of the Latin hymn, *A solis ortus cardine*, by Sedulius. Text, Daniel I, 119; cf. Julian, 4. In Witt-W; Er-En.

Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott

Title: The song, Come Holy Spirit.

1524.

See W. Ed. 35: 165ff and 448f. B.8: 51f. Julian, 631. Kirchenbuch, No. 140.

First stanza based on a pre-Reformation German sentence and the XI Cent. Antiphon, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*. See Daniel II, 315; Julian, 631, 1215.

Stanzas 2 and 3 original.

In Witt-W; Er-En.

Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heilger Geist

Title: The hymn, Come Creator.

1524.

See W. Ed. 35: 161ff and 446f. B.8: 52f. Julian, 1209. Kirchenbuch, No. 141.

Translation of the Latin hymn, *Veni creator Spiritus*, on which see Daniel I, 213; B.8: 53; Julian, 1206.

In Witt-W; Er-En.

Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot

Title: The ten commandments of God to the tune, *In Gottes Namen fahren wir*.—(A 14 century folksong sung on pilgrimages).

1524.

See W. Ed. 35: 135ff and 426ff. B.8: 55f. Julian, 301, Kirchenbuch, No. 212.

A catechetical hymn.

In Witt-W; Er-En.

Vol. VI—20.

Wir glauben all an einen Gott

Title: The German Confession of Faith. Another: The German Patrem.

1524.

See W. Ed. 35:172ff and 451f. B.8:57f. Julian, 1287. Kirchenbuch, No. 269.

Versification of the Nic.—Constan. Creed. Appointed in the *Deutsche Messe*, 1526. See B.7:187.

In Witt-W.

Gott der Vater wohn uns bei

Title: God the Father be with us

1524.

See W. Ed. 35:177 and 450. B.8:58f. Julian, 443. Kirchenbuch, No. 414.

Probably inspired by old German spiritual folksong addressed to the B. V. M. and various saints.

In Witt-W.

Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin

Title: The song of praise of Simeon, Now do thou dismiss. 1524.

See W. Ed. 35:154 and 438ff. B.8:60. Julian, 760. Kirchenbuch, No. 540.

Free versification of the *Nunc Dimittis*.

In Witt-W.

Mensch, wilt du leben seliglich

Title: The Ten Commandments, as brief as possible. 1524.

See W. Ed. 35:135ff and 428f. B.8:61. Julian, 724. Not in Kirchenbuch.

The second of Luther's hymns on the Ten Commandments and a much shorter hymn. Catechetical.

In Witt-W.

Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese zeit

Title: The 124 Psalm.

Feb.-April, 1524.

See W. Ed. 35:124 and 440. B.8:62. Julian, 1232.

Kirchenbuch, No. 189.

Versification of a Psalm.

In Witt-W.

Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist

Title: The song of praise, Now pray we the Holy Spirit.
1524.

See W. Ed. 35:163 and 447f. B.8:63. Julian, 821.

Kirchenbuch, No. 139.

Based on an old German sentence hymn beginning with the same words, in popular use before Reformation times.

Stanzas 2, 3 and 4 original. Referred to by Luther in the *Form. Miss.*

In Witt-W.

Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich

Title: Give peace, Lord,—in German.

1529.

See W. Ed. 35:232ff and 458. B.8:64. Julian, 275.

Kirchenbuch, No. 535.

Appeared first in prose form, then metrical, the inspiration being a German pre-Reformation prose form and the Latin Antiphon, *Da pacem Domine*,—6-7 centuries.

Text, Julian, 275.

In Klug, Gesangbuch, 1529.

Jesaia dem Propheten das geschah

Title: The German *Sanctus*.

1526.

See W. Ed. 35:230ff and 455. B.8:64f. Julian, 584.

Kirchenbuch, No. 441.

Probably written for use in the *Deutsche Messe* of 1526.

See B.7:192. A versification of the *Sanctus* in the Communion Office.

First in *Deutsche Messe*, 1526; then Erfurt Gesangb., 1527.

Herr Gott dich loben wir

Title: *Te deum laudamus*.

1528-1529.

See W. Ed. 35:249ff and 458f. B.8:65f. Julian, 1134.

Kirchenbuch, No. 440.

Versification of the *Te deum*. Text, B.8:67f; Julian, 1119ff.

In Klug, 1529.

Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott

Title: The 46 Psalm.

1527-1528.

See W. Ed. 35:185ff and 455ff. B.8:68ff. Julian, 322ff.

Kirchenbuch, No. 192.

Versification of a Psalm. Luther's greatest hymn.

First probably as a broad-sheet publication almost immediately after composition.

First hymnal, Weiss, Witt. Gesangb., 1528; then Klug, 1529; and

Blum, Enchiridion, 1529, for which the claim is advanced that this is the first hymnal in which the hymn appears in High German.

Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her

Title: A children's hymn for Christ's Holy Night.

Bet. 1533 and 1535.

See W. Ed. 35:258ff and 459ff. B.8:71ff. Julian, 1227.

Kirchenbuch, No. 35.

Original hymn.

In Klug, Geist. Lied., 1535.

Sie ist mir lieb die werthe Magd

Title: A hymn concerning the Holy Christian Church out of the 12th chapter of the Revelation.

1535.

See W. Ed. 35:254ff and 462f. B.8:73f. Julian, 1057.

Kirchenbuch, No. 172.

Original hymn.

In Klug, 1535.

Vater unser im Himmelreich

Title: The Our Father briefly explained and put into form for singing.

1538 end or early 1539.

See W. Ed. 35:270ff and 463ff. B.8:74ff. Julian, 1205.

Kirchenbuch, No. 417.

Versification of the Lord's Prayer. Numerous pre-Reformation examples.

In Schumann, Geist. Lied., 1539.

Was fürchtst du, Feind Herodes, sehr

Title: The hymn, The enemy Herod, to the tune *A solis ortus, etc.*

Dec. 12, 1541.

See W. Ed. 35:267f and 470f. B.8:76f. Julian, 5.

Kirchenbuch, No. 55.

Based on the Latin hymn, *Hostis Herodes impie*, by Sedulius. See Daniel I, 120; Julian, 4.

In Klug, Gesangb., 1543.

Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam

Title: A spiritual hymn concerning our holy baptism, wherein is comprehended briefly: What it is; who instituted it; and what good it does; etc.

1541.

See W. Ed. 35:281ff and 468ff. B.8:78ff. Julian, 226.

Not in Kirchenbuch.

Hymn on Baptism.

Printed as broad-sheet, 1541; then in later books.

Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort

Title: A children's hymn, to be sung against the two archenemies of Christ and His Holy Church, the pope and the Turks, etc.

1541—uncertain—1542.

See W. Ed. 35:235ff and 467f. B.8:80. Julian, 352.

Kirchenbuch, No. 193.

First as broadsheet, 1542.

Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schar

Title: Another hymn of Christ (Christmas hymn), to the former tune (i.e. *Vom Himmel hoch*).

Cir. Christmas, 1542.

See W. Ed. 35:264ff and 471ff. B.8:81. Julian, 1227.

Kirchenbuch, No. 37.

Klug, 1543.

Der du bist drei in Einigkeit

Title: The hymn, O glorious Light, germanized.
1543.

See W. Ed. 35:285ff and 473. B.8:82. Julian, 843.

Kirchenbuch, No. 498.

Translation of the Latin hymn, *O lux beata, trinitas*.

See Daniel I, 26. B.8:82. Julian, 842.

Klug, 1543.

COLLECTS

THE LUTHER COLLECTS

The collects which appear in the following pages are but a few of the many prayers which may be found scattered throughout Luther's writings.

Luther was a mighty pray-er. The spontaneity, fervid faith, deep spirituality, naive childlikeness, and honest, rugged purposefulness of his praying is evident whether the prayer be a mere sentence aspiration or heart-sigh, or impetuous, earnest cry, or more formal collect, or longer meditative confession and intercession. Luther prayed under every circumstance,—prayed without ceasing; and the spiritual Luther is revealed here as at no other place.

Here are two thoroughly original prayers which illustrate this:—

Lord God, Thou hast placed me in Thy Church as a bishop and pastor: Thou seest how unfit I am to fulfill this great and responsible Office, and had it not been for Thy wisdom and guidance I would long since have brought everything to destruction. Therefore do I cry unto Thee. Most willingly do I desire to give and conform my mouth and heart to Thy service. I desire to teach the people, and long continually to be taught Thy Word. Deign to use me as Thy workman, dear Lord. Only do not Thou forsake me; for if Thou forsake me, I, alone, shall bring all to naught. Amen. (Walch 2, 404).

Lord, it is certainly true that I am unworthy to have Thee come under my roof, but I am so needy and long for Thy help and grace so that I may become righteous. Therefore, I come to Thee, trusting in nothing other than the sweet words which I have heard, with which Thou invitest me to Thy Table and sayest to me, who am so unworthy, that I will receive forgiveness of my sins through Thy Body and Blood if I eat and drink thereof in this Sacrament. Amen! Dear Lord, Thy word is true; this I do not doubt; and upon this promise I eat and drink with Thee; let it be unto me according to Thy will and word. Amen. (Walch 12, 1766).

These two prayers are not unique; there are many more such as these, personal, intimate, humble, absolutely trusting. This is one side of Luther's prayer-life. The other finds expression in the external worship of the Church.

The prayers which follow are the prayers of the Church's worship as provided by Luther as models or to meet a direct need. This group is quite distinct, therefore, because of their origin and purpose. They are not spontaneous prayers nor are they original in the same sense as his other prayers. They are formal, prepared to meet specific needs, and usually definitely appointed.

All of these prayers, as far as they carry the form and dress which Luther gave them, came into being in the course of Luther's work in providing for the needs of the worshiping Church and the worshiping children of the Church. They, like the liturgical forms and the hymn books in which they are imbedded, are of importance in valuing Luther's attitude toward things liturgical and as evidence of his many-sided productivity in this sphere of church life.

As in the liturgical forms, so in the prayers, Luther did not reject or ignore the uses to which he had been long accustomed, uses hallowed by centuries of church practice, deeply imbedded in the life of the people and revered by them. The treasury of the Church was not only rich in a great fund of liturgical material, but contained also many books of spiritual and devotional value. Luther reveals in unmistakable ways a thorough acquaintance with the forms of worship current in the Church's use and followed some of the ancient devotional classics as models for his own devotional writing. Familiarity with this rich treasury was bound to reflect itself in his own devotional expressions. His process of liturgical reform is cleansing and preservation of the ancient as cleansed. He seems quite content to act the same way when he comes to furnishing the Liturgy and Offices with prayers. Here the ancient Latin prayers of the Church are his models, just as the ancient Latin liturgical forms are his models in the other case. More, these prayers are *his* prayers; and in so far as they may be used by all, he proceeds to render them into a form that can be used by all.

Luther employed three methods in providing the prayers

for liturgical and private worship. The first was quite exact translation of Latin originals; the second was adaptation of Latin originals; the third was the writing of altogether original prayers. Is there any indication of Luther's feeling toward the accustomed appointments evident in the fact that the collects he translated are the largest group, those he adapted the next and much smaller, and that there are very few entirely original?

The first group, as represented, for example, by the prayers of the Order of Infant Baptism, does not necessarily mean that Luther followed the line of least resistance and translated the collects of the Roman Order of Baptism or of some other use simply because they were ready at hand and he was accustomed to them. While he was extremely hesitant at even making a start in liturgical reform, and when he had started, at making too pronounced a break from the old and accustomed, he nevertheless evidenced an appreciation of the true value which he recognized in all these uses, and his attitude was to retain these forms rather than to reject them, but to cleanse them, as needed, of false accretions in order to restore them to their ancient purity. Retention of the collects of the pre-Reformation Order of Baptism, for example, is direct evidence of this attitude and purpose; there are just those little touches and turns of phrase here and there which indicate Luther's conservatism as well as independence and his doctrinal position as well.

The second group, as represented, for example, by the so-called "Sündflut" collect of the same Order and by the Post Communion of the *Deutsche Messe*, affords opportunity to see his non-success and success in adaptation. The former prayer is verbose and heavy, and submitting it to the test of reading it out loud, even in the German, is a disharmony in the Order in every respect,—Luther apparently had much *to say* in that prayer! The other prayer is a perfect gem, one of the finest prayers he has left us. Both reveal the "feel" for the ancient; both undoubtedly are founded on old prayer forms; and both reveal the spiritual purpose of the workman, two purposes however! After all, their value must be judged according to that, more than according to form.

The best example of the third group is the collect of the Order for Ordination. By the time this was written, Luther had become quite free in his attitude toward the externals of worship; then, too, it must be remembered that he had to blaze the way in this new Order, as this liturgical act was a new experience in the life of the Church of the Reformation, and the pre-Reformation Order utterly impossible because of the vast difference in the respective doctrines of the Ministry. Hence the freedom of this prayer both in form and content.

The steps in Luther's liturgical activity,—development or non-development as one may be moved to denominate it,—are easily followed in the collects. It is interesting to note this progress from the very early Order of Baptism through the intervening steps to the late Order for Ordination. As the collects here following are chronologically arranged, this will not be difficult for the reader to follow.

The desire that moved Luther to attempt to provide for the common man's worship both in church and at home by giving him a little book of "spiritual songs" with which he could voice his praise to God, also added prayers to a number of these hymns for his use; these were in harmony with the hymn and the season of the church year. In providing these collects, for that is what they are, strictly speaking, Luther again followed the way to which he and the people had been accustomed when he translated the old Latin prayers or adapted them to the needs of their prospective users. He was not the first to translate these prayers into the vernacular, as "prayer books" for lay-folk already existed; but his translations were much more happy and simple in their diction, and, of course, thoroughly cleansed of unevangelic expressions. In this way some of the finest old collects in the Church's use were brought over into the life of the Church of the Reformation and cherished all the more because they were vernacular, and made the personal prayers of the people.

Luther's outstanding constructive work in the prayer-life of the Church is his "correction" of the Litany. At the end of this he placed a selection of prayers. These were quite independent of any previous model, but the prayers again are translations of old Latin collects.

A word about the method in which these collect studies are here presented is in place.

First the collect is translated into English. This is a *translation of Luther's German* as exact and carefully literal as possible; no attempt has been made to prepare a polished, liturgical rendering, as the object has been to render Luther's collect in English which compares with his German in order to a fair comparison with the Latin original when there is one. These collects beautifully translated and in perfect liturgical form may be found, in most cases, in the *Common Service Book*, references to which will be found in the notes below.

After the translation reference is made to the use or place in which the collect is found in the Luther writing and whatever needed comment in as brief a form as possible.

Then the source of the collect is noted, and the original text is given for purpose of comparison. This source is traced through the oldest Roman sacramentaries to the earliest form in order to show both continuity and antiquity of use. It is also noted where current in Missals of Luther's period. This will aid in establishing the reading of the text which Luther probably had before him. The first reference always is the oldest.

Then the interesting line is followed of the use of the collect in the *Kirchen Ordnungen*. This represents the Church's use since the Reformation and is brought down to the present day by reference to the *Kirchenbuch* and the *Common Service Book*. Thus are established the historic links with the past.

Reference is also made to the outstanding hymn books of the Reformation period, as a number of the collects first appeared in one or another of these. And finally the reference is given where the collect may be found in the Erlangen Edition of Luther's Works and in the Weimar Edition in the few cases where they are included therein.

It is entirely apart from the purpose of these studies to examine the text critically or to make any observations on the doctrinal contents.

PAUL ZELLER STRODACH.

Pentecost, 1930.

Works referred to in the course of these collect studies:

Muratori, *Liturgia Romana vetus*, 2 vols. Venice, 1748. For the Leonianum, Gelasianum, Gregorianum, Gothicum, Gallicanum, etc.

Feltoe, *Sacramentarium Leonianum*. Cambridge, 1896.

Gerbert, *Monumenta veteris liturgiae Allemannicae*, 1777
Gelasian manuscripts collated.

Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, 1894.

Menard,—Migne, *Patrologia series latina*, tom lxxviii
Gregorianum.

Lietzmann, *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum*. Münster, 1921.

Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great*. Vol. xlix, Henry Bradshaw Society (1915).

Dickinson, *Sarum Missal*. Burntisland ed. London, 1861.

Legg, *The Sarum Missal*. Oxford, 1916.¹

Missale Romanum, 1474. Henry Bradshaw Society. Vol. xvii (1899); Vol. xxxiii (1907).

Missale Romanum. Ratisbon, 1906.

Missals of the period, original prints except the Milan:

Milan Missal, 1474—see above.

Nürnberg Missal, 1484

Bamberg Missal, 1499.

Constance Missal, 1505.

Kirchen Ordnungen will be quoted from original prints, exceptions will be noted either in

Richter, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16 Jahrh.* 1846.

Sehling, *Kirchen Ordnungen*, 1902-1914.

Drews, *Beiträge zu Luthers Liturgischen Reformen*, iv and v, 1910 (I—Luthers lateinische und deutsche Litanei von 1529; II—Luthers deutsche Versickel und Kollecten).

Althaus, *Zur Einfuehrung in die Quellengeschichte der Kirchlichen Kollecten in den lutherischen Agenden des 16 Jahrhunderts*.

Strodach, Lutheran Church Review, *The Collects*, vol. xxxv (1916), July, p. 401ff; xxxvi (1917), Jan., 105ff; xl (1921), Jan. 57ff; July 242ff.

Kirchen Ordnungen referred to in the collect notes.

Original prints unless otherwise noted.

Deutsche Messe, Luther, 1526. Richter I.

Teutsch Kirchenampt, 1527.

Braunschweig, 1528—Richter I.

Hamburg, 1529.

Brandenburg-Nürnberg, 1533.

Wittenberg, 1533.

Cöthner Gottesdienst Ordnung, 1534—Sehling II.

Pommern, Pia ordinatio caeremoniarum, 1535—Sehling IV.

Riga, 1537—Geffcken edition.

Naumburg, St. Wenzels Kirche, 1537-8—Sehling I, part 2.

Cassel, 1539—Richter I.

Herzog Heinrich zu Sachsen, 1539—Sehling I.

Herzog Heinrich zu Sachsen, 1540-1555—Sehling I.

Mark Brandenburg, 1540.

Braunschweig-Lüneburg, 1542.

Schwäbisch-Hall, 1543.

Veit Dietrich, Agend buchlin, 1543.

Otthainrich, Rhein Pfalz Bairn, 1543.

Cöln Reformation, 1543.

Prussia, 1544—Sehling IV.

Spangenberg, Cationes ecclesiasticae, 1545.

Mecklenberg, 1552.

Wirtemberg, 1553.

Waldeck, 1556.

Otthainrich, 1556.

Pfalz-Zweibrücken, 1557.

Wittenberg, 1559.

Lüneberg, 1564.

Prussia, 1568—Sehling IV.

Braunschweig-Calenberg, 1569.

Braunschweig-Lüneberg, 1569.

Braunschweig-Wolffenbittel, 1569.

Oestreich, 1571.

Oldenburg, 1573.

Dresden, KO der Kreuz Kirche, 1574—Sehling I.
Kurpfälz, 1577.

Herzog Augustus zu Sachsen, 1580—Sehling I.
Mansfeld, 1580.

George Ernst von Henneberg, 1582—Sehling I, part 2.
Saxe-Coburg, 1626.

Magdeburg, 1632.

NOTE ON THE INTRODUCTION TO THE LUTHER COLLECTS

¹Reference is made to the Sarum Missal as it is the outstanding and the most easily available of the northern family of uses.

THE LUTHER COLLECTS

Adaptations, Translations, Originals

- 1—(1523) O Almighty, Eternal God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: Look upon this N.—, Thy servant, whom Thou hast called to instruction in the Faith: Drive away from him all the blindness of his heart; tear loose all the devil's shackles with which he is bound; open to him, Lord, the door of Thy grace, so that marked with the sign of Thy wisdom, he may be free of the stench of all evil lusts, and serve Thee joyfully according to the sweet odor of Thy commandments in Thy Church, and grow daily, and be made meet to come to the grace of Thy baptism to receive the healing unto life; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

This is the first collect in Luther's *Tauff Buchlin Verdeutscht*, of 1523. It is a direct translation.

Source: Omnipotens sempiterne deus, pater domini nostri Jesus Christi, respicere digneris super hunc famulum tuum, quem ad rudimenta fidei vocare dignatus es, omnem cecitatem cordis expelle; disrumpe omnes laqueos sathane, quibus fuerat colligatus; aperi ei domine ianuam pietatis tue: ut signo sapientie tue imbutus omnium cupiditatum fetoribus careat: et ad suavem odorem preceptorum tuorum letus tibi in ecclesia tua deserviat et proficiat de die in diem: ut idoneus efficiatur accedere ad gratiam baptismi percepta medicina. Per eundem Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

Gelasian—Muratori I, 533

Wilson 46

Gerbert I, 249; II, 6

Gregorian—Muratori II, 60, cf. 152

Lietzmann, 49—Oratio ad catechumenum faciendum

Sarum—Legg 124. First prayer in the Ordo ad cathe. faci.

Magdeburg Agenda, 1497

Rituale Romanum, Ratisbon, 1906, p. 13

Erlangen Ed. 22, 158

Weimar Ed. 12, 43

Richter, KOO, I, 7

Sehling, KOO, I, 18

The collect was not retained in Luther's revised order of 1526. It was not incorporated in the Order for Baptism in either the *Kirchenbuch* or the *Common Service Book*.

- 2—(1523) O God, Thou deathless Comfort of all who need, Saviour of all who cry to Thee, and Peace of all who pray to Thee, Life of the believers, Resurrection of the dead: I cry to Thee for this N.—, Thy servant, who prays for the gift of Thy baptism and desires Thy eternal grace through spiritual regeneration; receive him, Lord, and as Thou hast said, Ask and ye shall receive; seek and ye shall find; knock and it shall be opened unto you: so give now the reward to him that asketh and open the door to him that knocketh, so that he may obtain the eternal blessing of this heavenly bath and receive the promised Kingdom of Thy grace; through Christ our Lord. Amen.

This is the second collect in Luther's *Tauff Buchlin Verdeutscht*, of 1523. This also is a direct translation.

Source:

Deus immortale praesidium omnium postulantium, libertatio supplicium, pax rogantium, vita credentium, resurrectio mortuorum te invoco super hunc famulum tuum N. qui baptismi tui donum petit ac eternam consequi gratiam spirituali regeneratione desiderat, accipe eum domine. Et quia dignatus es dicere Petite et accipietis, quaerite et invenietis, pulsate et aperietur vobis, petenti itaque premium porrige et ianuam pande pulsanti ut aeternam celestis lauachri benedictionem consecutus promissa tui moneris regna percipiat. Per Christum dominum nostrum.

Gregorian—Muratori II, 155

Sarum—Legg 125

Magdeburg Agenda

Rituale Romanum, 33—Ordo baptismi adultorum

Erlangen 2, 159

Weimar 12, 43

Richter I, 7

Sehling I, 18

In Luther's revised order of 1526, this collect begins with an address similar to the foregoing collect (No. 1) and continues: I cry to Thee, etc. In *this* form it appears in the *Kirchenbuch*, 201. Cf. Erlangen 22, 291, Weimar 19, 539.

Church Book 349, Order for the Baptism of Infants; the form of the collect as 1523.

Common Service Book, 390, Order for the Baptism of Infants; the form as revised.

- 3—(1523) Almighty, Eternal God, Who, according to Thy righteous judgment, didst condemn the unbelieving world through the flood, and in Thy great mercy didst preserve believing Noah and his family; and Who didst drown hardhearted

Pharaoh with all his host in the Red Sea, and didst lead Thy people Israel through the same on dry ground, thereby prefiguring this bath of Thy baptism; and Who, through the baptism of Thy dear Child, our Lord Jesus Christ, hast consecrated and set apart the Jordan and all water as a salutary flood and a rich and full washing away of sins: We pray through the same Thine infinite mercy, that Thou wilt graciously behold this N.— and bless him with true faith in spirit, that by means of this saving flood all that has been born in him from Adam and which he himself has added thereto may be drowned in him and engulfed, and that he may be sundered from the number of the unbelieving, preserved dry and secure in the Holy Ark of Christendom, serve Thy Name at all times fervent in spirit and joyful in hope, so that with all believers he may be made worthy to attain eternal life according to Thy promise; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

This is the third collect in Luther's *Tauff Buchlin Verdeutschet*, of 1523.

This collect has come to be known as the "Sündflutgebet" from the allusion to the Flood. The claim has been made that it was original with Luther. Fortunately the most that may be possibly laid at his door is adaptation and enlargement, the latter appearing in the very verbose and top-heavy address. This form of address is enough in itself to prove that this much of the collect at least is not from a Latin source; for such a building up of phrases,—“reasons,” is not native to the Latin style of collect writing or building.

But there is no doubt that this collect is related to the prayer said by the priest when salt

was (is) administered to the candidate for baptism. This prayer is found in the Order current in Luther's day and is still retained in the present day *Rituale Romanum*. The text of this is quoted below for the sake of comparison. This, with no sufficient reason to question it, must be considered as Luther's pattern for his own collect.

Drews in his *Beiträge*, V, 112ff, attempts to prove the descent of the Luther collect from early *Eastern* sources, quoting and comparing in detail. It is an interesting study, and proves what can be done when sources such as these are available for comparison. Had they been available to Luther, Drews' supposition would be something more than an interesting liturgical study; but Luther did not possess liturgical "tools" such as these or widespread acquaintance with liturgical forms, especially beyond the group of books in current use. The most that can be asserted in this connection is that Luther may have been acquainted with a so-called parent collect present in some limited use with which he was familiar, but as yet undiscovered as far as those interested in studying Luther's sources are concerned. A much more likely supposition is that Luther used the collect quoted below, editing and enlarging as seemed best to himself.

For comparison:

Deus patrum nostrorum, Deus universae conditor veritatis, te supplices exoramus: ut hunc famulum tuum respicere digneris propitius: ut hoc primum pabulum salis gustantem, non diutius esurire permittas, quo minus cibo expleatur caelesti; quatenus sit semper, Domine, spiritu servens, spe gaudens, tuo semper nomini ser-

viens: perduc eum ad novae regenerationis lavacrum: ut cum fidelibus tuis promissionum tuarum aeterna praemia consequi mereatur. Per Dominum.

Gelasian—Muratori I, 534

Benedictio post datum salem

Gregorian—Muratori II, 153

In benedictio salis

Oratio post datum salem

Sarum—Legg 125. Ordo cathecuminum faciendum. Post datam salem

Rituale Romanum—Ordo baptismi parvulorum, 14

Ordo baptismi adultorum, 31

Kirchenbuch, 201

Church Book, 350

Omitted from *Common Service Book*

Erlangen 22, 159

Weimar 12, 43

Richter I, 7

Sehling I, 18

- 4—(1523) Lord, Holy Father, Almighty Eternal God, from Whom cometh all the light of truth, we beseech Thine eternal and most tender goodness, that Thou wilt shed Thy blessing upon this N.—, Thy servant, and enlighten him with the light of Thy knowledge; cleanse and sanctify him, give him right understanding that he may be made worthy to come to the grace of Thy baptism; that he may hold fast to a sure hope, true counsel, and holy teaching, and be made meet for the grace of Thy baptism; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

This is the fourth collect in Luther's *Tauff Buchlin Verdeutsch*, of 1523. It also is a direct translation.

Source: Eternam ac mitissiam pietatem tuam deprecor domine sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus qui es auctor luminis et veritatis, ut super hunc famulum tuum N. benedictionem tuam infundas, ut digneris eum illuminare limine intelligentiae tuae, munda eum et sanctifica, da illi scientiam bonam ut dignus efficiatur ad gratiam baptismi tui, teneat firmam spem, consilium rectum, doctrinam sanctam, ut aptus sit ad percipiendam gratiam baptismi tui. Per eundem Christum d.n.

Gelasian—Muratori I, 537

Gerbert I, 251; II, 7

Wilson 49

Gregorian—Muratori II, 60, 155

Lietzmann 50

Sarum—Legg 127

The address in these sacramentaries is, Eternam ac iustissimam

Magdeburg Agenda

Rituale Romanum 15; 36

Omitted from Luther's revised order of 1526

Omitted from *Kirchenbuch*, *Church Book*, and *Common Service Book*

Erlangen 22, 161

Weimar 12, 44

Richter I, 8

Sehling I, 19

5—(1526) Almighty God, Thou Who art the Protector of all who hope in Thee, without Whose grace no one is able to accomplish anything, nor is anything worthy in Thy sight: Let us richly experience Thy mercy so that through Thy holy

inspiration we may think what is right and through Thy direction and action also accomplish the same; for Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord's sake. Amen.

This collect is appointed in Luther's *Deutsche Messe*, immediately after the Kyrie, probably as an example of a vernacular collect, as the direction to intone it and the method of intoning are also indicated.

The collect has been made by combining the address and a phrase of the petition of the proper collect for the Third Sunday after Pentecost with the last part of the proper collect for Rogate Sunday. These two collects follow:

Source: (1) *Proper Collect for the Third Sunday after Pentecost*

Protector in te sperantium deus sine quo nichil est ualidum nichil sanctum multiplica super nos misericordiam tuam: ut te rectore te duce sic transeamus per bona temporalia: ut non amittamus eterna. Per.

(2) *Proper Collect for Rogate Sunday*

Deus a quo bona cuncta procedunt largire supplicibus tuis: ut cogitemus te inspirante que recta sunt: et te gubernante eadem faciamus. Per.

(1) Gelasian—Gerbert I, 139

Wilson 347

In both cases appointed for Dom. V post Pentecosten

Gregorian—Muratori II, 166

Menard 178

Sarum—Legg 176. Dom. IIII post festum trinitatis

Leofric—116

Missale Romanum, Milan—I, 260. III post Pentecosten

Brandenberg—CXXV

Bamberg—CLXVIIb—III post Trin.

Nürnberg

Constance

Augsberg Breviary—329

Missale Romanum—Dom. III p. Pente.—409.

(1) *In the Kirchen Ordnungen*

Br-Nr, 22 cf.12

Mark Br, No. 32

Saxon (1540-55) Sehling 1,277

Schwä. Hall, LXXIIb, No. 7

Rhein-Pfalz, 7

Riga, 173, No. 22

Otthain, 33b, No. 17

Braun-Cal, 145, No. 45

Braun-Wolff, 145 No. 45

Saxe-Cobg, 109, No. 22

Kirchenbuch 104

Common Service Book 123

(2) Gelasian—Gerbert I, 113

Muratori I, 585

Wilson 104

Gregorian—Muratori II, 163

Pamelius II, 402

Menard 90

Sarum—Legg 150

Leofric—106

Milan Missal—I, 229

Brandenberg—CIVb

Bamberg—CXIIb

Nürnberg

Constance

Augsberg Breviary—298c

Missale Romanum—361

All appoint collect for Dom. V post Pascha—
Rogate

(2) *In the Kirchen Ordnungen*

Br-Nr, CXLVb, No. 12
Spangenberg, see the Sunday
Saxe-Cobg, 101

Kirchenbuch 90
Common Service Book 108

*The Collects as combined to form the 1526
Collect,*

In the Kirchen Ordnungen

Deutsche Messe
Mark Br, No. 22
Riga, Vesper collect
Lüne, No. 20
Braun-Lüne, No. 47 cf. No. 21
Schwä-Hall, LXXV, No. 15
Magd, 75, No. 1
Saxon (1540-55), Sehling I, 275, note
Mans, Sehling I, 2, 231
Geo. Ernst, Sehling I, 2, 319
Prussia, Sehling 4, 103
Oestr, CLXVIII, No. 146
Pfalz-Zw, CXb, No. 13

In the Reformation Hymn Books

Blum, Enchiridion
Klug 1533
Klug 1535
Klug 1543
Babst 1545

Erlangen Ed 56, 347

- 6—(1526) We thank Thee, Almighty Lord God, that Thou hast quickened us through this salutary gift, and we beseech Thy tender mercy that Thou wilt permit the same to increase in us and abound in strong faith toward Thee and ardent love among us all, for Jesus Christ, our Lord's sake. Amen.

This is the German post communion collect which Luther first appointed in his *Deutsche Messe* of 1526. It has long been considered original with Luther, but there is good evidence to question this. It is more likely an adaptation.

A Latin version of this collect

Gratias tibi agimus omnipotens Deus: quod nos salutari hoc munere recreasti. Teque pro tua misericordia rogamus: ut hoc nobis ad certam fiduciam in te: et mutam inter nos charitatem conducere facias. Per filium tuum Dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum. Amen.

This version is written on the margin of a *Veit Dietrich Agend buchlyn* of 1543 in a hand of that period. It is printed in Spangenberg, *Cantiones Ecclesiasticae—Kirchengesenge—* of 1545.

Whether this is the original Latin of the collect or not cannot be definitely asserted. The form, construction, and language of the Latin collect evidence a Latin original or eventual source. The post communion suggested by Drews in his *Beiträge*, V. 95, is neither source nor original.

The following Latin collect found in the Sarum Missal, (Legg 228) would be a much more likely source. This collect was said by the priest immediately after communing. The rubric: *Hic sumatur corpus et sanguis et postea dicatur hec oratio.*

Gracias tibi ago sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus qui me refecisti de sacratissimo corpore et sanguine filii tui domini nostri ihesu christi, et precor ut hoc sacramentum salutis nostre quod sumpsi indignus peccator, non veniat michi ad iudicium ne ad condemnacionem pro meritis meis sed ad profectum corporis et anime mee in uitam eternam pro misericordia tua. Amen.

In the first place, this prayer is contained in a missal which is a member of the northern family of uses, of which family the diocesan use to which Luther was accustomed also was a member. As such these missals were not only related but contained prayers and other variations peculiar to themselves and differing from the southern "Roman" book. It is not at all unlikely that this prayer or one very similar was contained in the German books. There is a possible relation to the collect *Quod ore sumpsimus* of the Roman missal also to be noted.

The Sarum prayer is quoted here merely for comparison, and not with any claim that it is Luther's source collect. The similarity between his collect and the Sarum collect is marked, and the variations are only such as would come from the mind and heart of an evangelical protestant of the Reformation period. All that one might say is, that from this or a similar source collect, Luther prepared the post communion for the *Deutsche Messe*.

For further interesting comparisons see *Sacramentum Gallicanum*, Muratori II, 780; *Sarum*, Burntisland ed. 626, 627, also 639, the third of the prayers said by the priest after communing. Compare also, Muratori I, 401 (Leonianum); I, 743, 744 (Gelasianum); II, 234, 235 (Gregorianum); II, 657 (Gothicum).

Luther's Post Communion in the Kirchen Ordnungen

Deutsche Messe

Kirchenampt, Teutsch, XLVII

Braunschweig, Richter I, 115

Hamburg, 191

Br-Nr, CLVIII

Wittenberg

Saxon (1539), Richter I, 315; Sehling I, 280
(1540-55) Sehling I, 275, 278

Pommern, Pia ordinatio caeremoniarum, Sehling IV, 353

Naumburg, St. Wenzels Kirche, Sehling I, 2, 82

Mark Br, 8A

Braun-Lüne (1542), 36

Veit Dietrich, 34

Cöln Reformation, CLXb

Schwä-Hall, XLII; See Richter II, 16

Prussia (1544), Sehling IV, 66

(1568), Sehling IV, 82

Spangenberg, Latin, I, XIII

German, II, XXVb

Riga, Geffcken 231

Waldeck, page H

Pfalz-Zw, IIII

Meck, 86b

Lüne, KIIb

Braun-Cal, 32

Braun-Lün, 36

Braun-Wolff, 36

Oestreich, CLXVI, No. 134

Oldenburg, Ttii b

Dresden, KO der Kreuz Kirche, Sehling I, 555

Mansfeld, Sehling I, 2, 227

Herzog Augustus zu Sachsen, Sehling I, 369

Geo. Ernst, Sehling I, 2, 309

Saxe-Cob, 36, 114

Magd, 74

*Kirchenbuch 20**Common Service Book 23**In the Reformation Hymn Books*

Erfurter Gesangbuch 1527

Zwickauer Gesangbuch 1528

Blum, Enchiridion 1530

Klug 1533

Klug 1535

Klug 1543

Babst 1545

Erlangen 56, 318

Weimar 19, 102

- 7—(1529) Lord, Almighty God, Who dost not disdain the sighs of the forlorn, and dost not despise the longing of troubled hearts: O look upon our prayer, which we bring before Thee in our need, and graciously hear us, so that all which striveth against us, both of the devil and of man, may come to nought, and, according to Thy good providence, may be turned away from us, to the end that, unhurt by all temptations, we may thank Thee in Thy Church and praise Thee at all times, through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord. Amen.

This is the first collect appointed in Luther's *Deutsche Litanei*, 1529; also the first collect in his Latin Litany Corrected.

Source: Deus qui contritorum non despicias gemitum et merentium non spernis affectum adesto precibus nostris, quas tibi pro tribulatione nostra effundimus, easque clementer exaudi ut quicquid contra nos diaboli atque humane moliantur

aduersitates ad nichilum redigatur, et consilio tue pietatis alidatur quatenus nulis aduersitatibus lesi sed de omni tribulatione et angustia erepti in ecclesia tua leti tibi gratias referamus. Per.

The text of this collect as in the Bamberg Missal:

Deus affectu: intercedente beata maria et omnibus sanctis tuis adesto tribulatione et angustia nostra clementer suscipies tribue . . . ut (for quatenus) . . . de omni angustia et tribulatione . . .

The text as in Luther's Latin Litany Corrected:

Deus misericors pater, qui contritorum non . . . (as Source to) quas in afflictionibus, quae iugiter nos premunt, coram te effundimus . . . ut hoc quod . . . ac humane fraudes moliantur . . . consilioque tuae bonitatis dispergatur, ut nullis insectationibus laesi, in ecclesia tua sancta tibi semper gratias agamus . . .

Sarum—Legg 408. Missa pro tribulacione cordis. Some slight variations.

Milan Missal—I, 476. Proper collect for the Missa pro nimiis pressuris

Bamberg—CCXCIII, col. 2. Missa pro tribulatio.

Brandenberg—CCCXCIIb

Nürnberg—239 verso, as Milan.

Cf. Bona, Rerum. Lit., 380, col. 2

In the Kirchen Ordnungen

Br-Nr, CXLVb, 13

Mark Br, No. 23

Saxon (1539), Sehling I, 280

(1540-55) Sehling I, 277

Rhein Pfalz Bairn, 34b, No. 23; 37
 Wirt, LVII, LXX verso
 Schwä-Hall, LXXVb, No. 16
 Otthainrich, 40 and 49 verso
 Prussia, Sehling IV, 104
 Pfalz-Zw, CXIII, No. 19, cf. CVI
 Lüne, No. 26
 Geo. Ernst, Sehling I, 2, 320
 Waldeck, Ciii, No. 1
 Witt, 104, No. 12
 Cöln Ref, CXCVIb
 Braun-Wolff-Cal, 132, No. 36
 Braun-Lün, 138, No. 27
 Meck, 94b, No. 12
 Mansfeld, Sehling I, 2, 231
 Saxe-Cob, 45, No. 1; 109, No. 24
 Magd, 76, No. 4

Kirchenbuch 184—Litany collect

Common Service Book 240—Litany collect

In the Reformation Hymn Books

Blum, Enchiridion

Klug 1543

Babst 1545

Erlangen 56, 352, 365

Weimar 30 part III, 35, 41

- 8—(1529) Lord God, Heavenly Father, Who dost not take pleasure in the miserable sinners' death, also dost not willingly permit them to perish, but desirest that they become converted and live: We humbly pray Thee, that Thou wilt graciously turn away from us the well-deserved punishment for our sins, and, in order to our improvement henceforth, graciously grant us Thy mercy, for Jesus Christ, our Lord's sake. Amen.

This is the second collect appointed in Luther's *Deutsche Litanei*, 1529; it is the third collect in the Latin Litany Corrected.

Source: Deus qui delinquentes perire non pateris, dones conuertantur et uiuant, debitam quaesumus peccatis nostris suspende uindictam et praesta propitius, ne dissimulation cumulet ultionem, sed tua pro peccatis nostris misericordia semper abundet. Per Dominum, etc.

Leonianum—Muratori I, 410

Gelasian, Muratori I, 511

Gerbert I, 42

In the Kirchen Ordnungen

Br-Nr, CXLI, No. 1

Mark Br, No. 37—2nd Litany collect

Riga, 162, No. 1

Braun-Wolff-Cal, 132, No. 27

Wirt, LXX verso

Witt (1559), 104b, No. 13

Meck, 95, No. 13

Lün, No. 27

Prussia, Sehling IV, 104

Schwä-Hall, LV

Waldeck, Ciii b, No. 2

Geo. Ernst, Sehling I, 2, 319

Braun-Lüne, 138, No. 28

Saxon (1539, 1540-55), Sehling I, 280, 277.

Otthain, 33, No. 14

Cöln Ref, CXCVIII

Mansfeld, Sehling I, 2, 231

Magd, 77, No. 5

Saxe-Cob, 46; 108, No. 21

Kirchenbuch 183

Common Service Book 240

*In the Reformation Hymn Books*Blum, *Enchiridion*, etc.

Erlangen 56, 362, 365

Weimar 30, III, 35, 41

- 9—(1529) Lord God, Heavenly Father, Thou knowest that because of our human weakness we are not able to stand fast amid so many and great dangers: Grant us strength both in body and soul, that by Thy help we may conquer all things which harass us because of our sins, for Jesus Christ, our Lord's sake. Amen.

This is the third collect appointed in Luther's *Deutsche Litanei*, 1529; it is the fourth collect in the Latin Litany Corrected.

Source: Omnipotens Deus, qui nos in tantis periculis constitutos, pro humana scis fragilitate non posse subsistere, da nobis salutem mentis et corporis, ut ea, quae pro peccatis nostris patimur, te adiuvante vincamus. Per Dominum.

Gelasian—Gerbert I, 25; 42

Wilson 323

Gregorian—Muratori II, 33, 160. Deus qui
nos . . .

Menard 48

Lietzmann 30

Sarum—Legg 43

Milan Missal—I, 38

Bamberg—XXIVb, 2; XLII

Nürnberg—23b, 1

Constance—XIX verso, col. 2

Augsberg Breviary—198b, 1

Missale Romanum—52.

The Latin collect is the proper collect of the Mass on the Fourth Sunday after the Epiphany.

In the Kirchen Ordnungen

Br-Nr, CXLIIb
 Riga, 162, 2
 Cassel, Richter I, 306
 Mark Br, Mii, No. 12
 Saxon (1540-55), Sehling I, 273, 277
 Teutsch Kirchenampt, IIIa
 Otthain. Rhein Pfalz Bairn, 33, No. 15
 Schwä-Hall, LXXIIIb, No. 11
 Cöln Ref, CXCVIII
 Veit Dietrich, Diiia
 Lüneberg
 Oldenburg, Ssiii b
 Kurpfälz, 64b
 Oestreich, CLXX
 Mansfeld, Sehling, I, 2, 231
 Geo. Ernst, Sehling I, 2, 320
 Saxe-Cob, 46, 107
 Magd, 77, No. 6

Kirchenbuch 184

Common Service Book 241

In the Reformation Hymn Books

Blum, Enchiridion
 Klug 1533
 Klug 1535
 Augsburg Enchiridion 1542
 Klug 1543
 Babst 1545

Erlangen 56, 353, 366
 Weimar 30, III, 36, 41

- 10—(1530) Almighty, Everlasting God, Who, through Thy Holy Spirit, sanctifiest and rulest the whole Church: Hear our prayer, and graciously grant that she with all her members, by Thy grace, may serve Thee in pure faith; through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord. Amen.

This collect was not included in the first printings of the *Deutsche Litanei* but appears as the fourth of the collects in Michael Blume's *Enchiridion*, Leipzig 1530, folio Hii. It entered all printings shortly thereafter and was also included in the Latin version.

Source: Omnipotens aeternae Deus, cuius spiritu totum corpus ecclesiae sanctificatur et regitur, exaudi nos pro universis ordinibus supplicantes, ut dono gratiae tuae, ab his omnibus pura fide tibi serviatur, Per Christum.

Gelasian—Muratori I, 560. De feria VI Passione Dom. Slight verbal variations

Gerbert I, 79

Wilson 76

Gregorian—Muratori II, 58

Menard 63

Lietzmann 48

Sarum—Legg 111

Milan—I, 168. Missa pro omni gradu ecclesiae, I, 465

Brandenburg—CCCXIVIIa

Bamberg—XCII

Nürnberg

Missale Romanum—211, and (95) No. 3, Pro omni gradu ecclesiae.

In the Kirchen Ordnungen

Saxony (1530), Sehling I, 280

(1539, 40-55), Sehling I, 275

Meck, 95, No. 14
Pfalz-Zw, CXI, No. 17
Witt, 104, No. 14
Spangenberg
Lün, No. 28
Prussia, Sehling IV, 104
Braun-Lün, 139, No. 29
Braun-Cal, No. 28
Oestreich, CLXVII, No. 147
Mans, Sehling I, 2, 230
Cf. Saxe-Cob, 102, No. 2, also 125, No. 72

Kirchenbuch 183
Common Service Book 240

In the Reformation Hymn Books
Blum, Enchiridion 1530
Babst 1545—both the German and Latin collects

Erlangen 56, 362, 365
Weimar 30, III, 36, 41

- 11—(1529) Lord God, Heavenly Father, from Whom we receive without ceasing all manner of good so superabundantly, and by Whom we are protected daily from all evil so graciously, we pray Thee, grant us to acknowledge all this through Thy Spirit with (our) whole heart in true faith, so that we may thank and praise Thy blessed goodness and mercy (both) now and eternally: through Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord. Amen.

This collect follows Luther's versification of the *Te Deum*, which was written sometime during 1528-1529 and first published in *Geistliche Lieder auff's new gebessert zu Wittenberg*, Joseph Klug, 1529.

The collect may be considered an original prayer, although there are evident reminiscences of the language and phrasing of older Latin prayers; cf. e.g., *Mis. Rom.* (48), a thanksgiving which was current in many of the service books of Luther's day.

To one who constantly used the vehicles of devotion, an unconscious use of the word-dress of prayer thought and aspiration in his own writing or making of prayers would be a quite natural thing.

The originality of this collect is assured by the turns of phrase which are definite identifications of the productions of the Evangelicals. One of these constantly met with in the new prayers of this period is the petition which seeks the aid and grace of the Holy Spirit in order to effectiveness in Christian grace and life.

In the Kirchen Ordnungen

Br-Nr, CXLII, No. 3

Riga (1537), 163, No. 3

Saxon (1539), Sehling, I, 279

(1540-55), Sehling I, 276

Mark-Br, No. 13

Othain Rhein Pfalz Bairn, 34b, No. 26

Veit Dietrich, No. 3

Schwä-Hall, LXXIII, No. 12

Meck, 94, No. 10

Pfalz-Zw, CXI, No. 14

Witt, No. 10

Lün, No. 23

Prussia (1568), Sehling IV, 104

Braun-Wolff, 130, No. 23

Braun-Lün, 136, No. 24

Mans, Sehling I, 2, 230

Geo. Ernst, Sehling I, 2, 321

Saxe-Cob, 106, No. 13; 125, No. 71
Magd, 76, No. 2

Kirchenbuch 171, No. 57

Common Service Book 228, No. 81

In the Reformation Hymn Books

Klug 1533

Klug 1535

Klug 1543

Babst 1545

Erlangen 56, 347

- 12—(1529) O Lord God, Who hast created man and woman, and hast ordained them for the marriage bond, making them fruitful by Thy blessing, and has typified therein the sacramental union of Thy dear Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Church, His Bride: We beseech Thy infinite goodness and mercy that thou wilt not permit this Thy creation, ordinance and blessing to be disturbed or destroyed, but graciously preserve the same; through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

This is the final collect in Luther's *Trawbüchlin* of 1529. It is quite possibly an original Luther collect, although there are reminiscences of current older prayer forms;—cf. e.g. Mis. Rom. Milan, II, 321 and 319, where similarity of a number of the phrases is quite marked.

The collect was retained in a number of the KOO, e.g. Br-Nr and Mark Br. It is retained in the *Kirchenbuch* 226. It was translated for the Order of Marriage in the *Church Book*, 377, but has been omitted from the Order in the *Common Service Book*.

Erlangen 23, 213

Weimar 30, III, 80; cf. 56

Clemen 4, 100

Rietschel, *Lehrbuch d. Liturgik* II, 247

Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus* II, 315

- 13—(1533) Dear Lord God, awaken us so that when Thy Son cometh we may be prepared to receive Him with joy and to serve Thee with clean hearts; through the same Thy Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord.

This collect follows the hymn, "Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland," in *Christliche Lieder* (Klug) 1533. It is a direct translation.

Source: Excita domine corda nostra ad preparandas unigeniti tui vias ut per eius aduentum purificatis tibi mentibus seruire mereamur. Per.

This is the proper collect for the Mass of the Second Sunday in Advent and is the most widely used of all Advent collects, being found in all of the important western sacramentaries except the Ambrosian. For notes, comments, comparison of texts, etc., additional to these, see *Lutheran Church Review*, vol. XXXV (1916) July, pp. 413ff.

Gelasian—Muratori I, 681. No. LXXXI.

Item alia missa (de Adventu)

Gerbert—I, 204. Dom. III ante Nat. Dni.

Slight variations.

Wilson 215

The original termination of this collect was *per*, that is, through the same Jesus Christ, etc. as Luther has translated. The *Qui tecum*, which turns the address of the prayer, entered with the Gregorian.

Gregorian—Muratori II, 134. For II Advent
 Menard 191
 Lietzmann 103
 Sarum—Legg 17. For same
 Gallicanum—Muratori II, 703; 785
 Milan—I, 3. For same
 Brandenburg—IIb
 Bamberg—IIIa
 Nürnberg—7 verso
 Constance—IIa
 Augsburg Breviary—122 verso
 Roman Missal—4

In the Kirchen Ordnungen

Saxon (1539), Sehling I, 280
 (1540-55), Sehling I, 275, 277
 Meck, 93, No. 2
 Wirtemberg
 Otthain. Rhein Pfalz Bairn, 42
 Pfalz-Zw, CVIII, No. 1
 Witt, 132, No. 2
 Braun-Cal, 9, 112
 Braun-Lün, 126, No. 2
 Saxe-Cob, III, No. 30
 Magdeburg-Halberstadt, 76, No. 7

Kirchenbuch 34

Common Service Book 39

In the Reformation Hymnals

Klug 1533
 Klug 1535
 Klug 1543
 Babst 1545

. Erlangen 56, 326

- 14—(1533) Aid (us) dear Lord God (so) that we may share and abide in the new, physical birth of Thy dear Son and be delivered from our old sinful birth; through the same Thy Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord.

This collect is a free rendition of the proper collect for the Third Mass on Christmas Day and follows the hymn, "Gelobet seistu Jhesu Christ, das du Mensch geboren bist," in Klug 1533; in the other books it follows the hymn, "Von Himmel kam der Engel schar."

Source: Concede, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut unigeniti tui nova per carnem nativitatis liberet, quos sub peccati iugo vetusta servitus tenet. Per.

Gelasian—Muratori I, 494. De vigilia Domini
in nocte

Gerbert I, 6

Wilson 2

Gregorian—Muratori II, 10. In natali Domini
Menard 31

Lietzmann 11

Ambrosian—Pamelius I, 448

Sarum—Legg 29

Milan—I, 19

Brandenberg—XIa

Bamberg—XIIIa

Nürnberg—14 verso

Constance

Augsberg Breviary—147a

Roman Missal—24

In the Kirchen Ordnungen

Two translations of the Latin collect appear in the KOO: the one Luther's, as noted above; the other a much more careful and exact ren-

dition. The latter is the more widely adopted, possibly because the pre-Reformation translation of this collect, appearing in pre-Reformation vernacular prayer books, etc., afforded a well known example. Both of these translations are found in the *Kirchenbuch*, p. 36. The first of these is the more exact translation, paralleling that of the *Common Service Book*, p. 47; the second is the Luther translation.

The Luther Translation in the KOO

Saxon (1530) Sehling I, 280

(1540-55), Sehling I, 275, 277

Spangenberg, II, XXXIII

Wirtemberg

Lün, VIIa

Braun-Wolff, 127

Oldenburg, Qqb

Kurpfälz, 59z

Mansfeld, Sehling I, 2, 288

Geo. Ernst, Sehling I, 2, 317

Kirchenbuch 36

Common Service Book 47

In the Reformation Hymn Books

Klug 1533

Klug 1535

Klug 1543

Babst 1545

Erlangen 56, 357, 358

For additional notes, comment, and references on this Luther collect and on the other translation as it appears in the KOO, see

Lutheran Church Review, XXXVI (1917)
January, pp 107ff.

- 15—(1533) Almighty, Everlasting God, we humbly pray Thee, grant that we may know and praise Thy dear Son as Holy Simeon did, who took Him up in his arms, spiritually knew and confessed Him; through the same, etc.

This collect follows the hymn, "Mit frid und frewd ich far dahin," in Klug 1533. It is associated with the Festival of the Purification of the Virgin or Candlemas (Lichtmess). The collect as here has not been discovered in any of the ancient or contemporaneous mass-books, either in connection with the rite of blessing the candles or among the propers for the mass. There is an abundance of similarity of phrases in a number of these, but the most likely relative source is a collect used in the *Benedictio candelarum* which is noted below for the sake of comparison. We may have in this Luther collect an original prayer, but the stronger probability is that it is a simplification of one or more phrases in existing service forms. Note the extreme simplicity of the prayer and the directness of its petition; such type of construction is found in the earliest collects before the methodical style found in most collects had become established.

For Comparison:

Domine Jesu Christe qui hodierna die in nostrae carnis substantia inter homines appares: a parentibus in templo es praesentatus, quem Symeon venerabilis senex lumine spiritus tui irradiatus agnovit: suscepit ac benedixit; praesta propitius quaesumus ut eiusdem spiritus

sancti gratia illuminati atque edocti: te veraciter agnoscamus et fideliter diligamus. Qui cum deo patre in unitate . . .

Milan—I, 314

Brandenberg—CLXXb

Bamberg

Nürnberg

Roman Missal—498

In the Kirchen Ordnungen

Saxon (1539), Sehling I, 280

(1540-55), Sehling I, 275, 278

Ottthain, Rhein Pfalz Bairn

Mecklenberg

Wirtemberg

Ottthainrich, 1556

Pfalz-Zweibrücken

Wittenberg

Braunschweig-Lüneberg-Wolffenbuttle

Lüneberg

Oldenberg

Kurpfälz

Saxe-Coburg

Magdeburg-Halberstadt

Kirchenbuch 145 No. 2

In the Reformation Hymn Books

Klug 1533

Klug 1535

Klug 1543

Babst 1545

Erlangen 56, 332

- 16—(1533) Merciful, Everlasting God, Who didst not spare Thine own Son but didst deliver Him up for us all so that He might bear our sin upon the Cross: Grant us that our hearts may never be daunted or become discouraged in this faith. Amen.

This collect follows immediately after the preceding collect (No. 15) in Klug 1533. It is not connected with a hymn. It carries the caption "A Prayer on the Passion of Christ." It is apparently an original Luther prayer, although it reflects reminiscences of a number of Latin collects, in particular the proper collect of the *Missa in honore sancte crucis*. It would not have been unlike Luther to take a collect wedded to an observance which was very popular among the people, but which he condemned, because of wrong teaching connected therewith, and revise it to evangelic use and appoint it to a proper use. Cf. Milan Missal I, 453.

Spangenberg, I, LXXIX, gives the following Latin version. As noted above, this or another Latin form has not been located in the sacramentaries, etc. It may represent a translation from the German into Latin, or may have been Luther's original which he also rendered into German. However Spangenberg prints Latin translations of other original German collects.

Spangenberg: Eterne Deus, qui unigenitum filium tuum pro peccatis nostris satisfacere voluisti: presta fidelibus tuis, ut pectora nostra spiritus tui gratia constanti fide erga te muniantur et retineantur. per eundem filium tuum dominum nostrum.

This collect has been adopted widely.

In the Kirchen Ordnungen

Saxon (1539), Sehling I, 280
(1540-55), Sehling I, 275, 277
Spangenberg, I, LXXIX
Wirt, LXI
Meck, 93b, No. 5
Witt, 103, No. 5
Pfalz-Zw, CIX, No. 5
Lün, No. 10
Otthain (1556)
Braun-Cal, 118
Braun-Lün, 130, No. 11, No. 49
Kurpfälz
Mans, Seh. I, 2, 228
Geo. Ernst, Seh. I, 2, 318
Saxe-Cob, 109, No. 26; 115, No. 44
Magd, 81, No. 15

Kirchenbuch 77, No. 2

Common Service Book 95, No. 1

In the Reformation Hymn Books

Klug 1533
Klug 1535
Klug 1543
Babst 1545

Erlangen 56, 332

- 17—(1533) Almighty Father, Everlasting God, Who didst permit Thy Son to suffer the anguish of the Cross for us, so that Thou mightest drive the power of the enemy from us: Grant us that we may so commemorate and give thanks for His Passion that we may thereby obtain forgiveness of sin and redemption from eternal death; through the same Thy Son.

This collect follows immediately after the preceding collect (No. 16) in Klug 1533, and carries the simple caption, "Another Prayer." It is a translation.

Source: Deus, qui pro nobis filium tuum crucis patibulum subire voluisti, ut inimici a nobis expelleres potestatem, concede nobis famulis tuis, ut resurrectionis gratiam consequamur, per eundem.

Gelasian—Gerbert I, 67. Feria IIII in Holy Week

Wilson 333

Gregorian—Muratori II, 53

Wilson 47

Menard 81

Lietzmann 44

Ambrosian—Pamelius I, 342. Feria VI in Parasceve. Post primam lectionem

Sarum—Burntisland ed. Col. 286. Feria IIII
—follows the gradual after the prophecy

Legg 101. Feria IIII. Also appointed in four other masses in this sacramentary.

Milan—I, 150. As Sarum

Bamberg—LXXXIII

Brandenberg—LXXXb

Nürnberg—82

Constance—LXIb

Augsberg Breviary—283

Roman Missal—188

In the Kirchen Ordnungen

Cöthner, Sehling II, 585

Saxon (1539), Sehling I, 280

(1540-55), Sehling I, 277, 278

Wirt, LXI

Pfalz-Zw, CIIXb, No. 47

Otthainrich (1556)

Braun-Cal, 147, No. 49

Braun-Lün, 152, No. 51

Oestreich, CXXXIXb, 35

Kurpfälz

Geo. Ernst, Sehling I, 2, 318

Mansfeld, Sehling I, 2, 228

Saxe-Cob. 110, No. 27; 118, No. 43

Magd, 81, No. 16

Kirchenbuch 77, No. 3

Common Service Book 95, No. 2

In the Reformation Hymn Books

Klug 1533

Klug 1535

Klug 1543

Babst 1545

Erlangen 56, 332

- 18— (1533) Almighty God, Who through the Death of Thy Son hast brought to naught sin and death, and through His Resurrection hast brought again innocence and eternal life, so that, delivered from the devil's power, we may live in Thy Kingdom: Grant us that we may believe this with our whole heart and, steadfast in this faith, always praise and thank Thee; through the same Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

This collect follows the Hymn, "Jhesus Christus vnser Heiland," in Klug 1533. It is an Easter use, and is considered an original Luther collect. It was adopted in nearly all of the KOO, either as an Easter collect or to be used at the burial of the dead, in some books for both.

In the following notes only the more important KOO are referred to.

In the Kirchen Ordnungen

- Saxon (1539), Sehling, I, 280
 (1540-55), Sehling I, 275, 278 Easter,
 279 Burial
 Mark Br, Tiiii b, based on an Easter col. in
 Duke Henry, 1539
 Otthainrich (1543), 47
 Meck, 94
 Wirtemberg 1553
 Pfalz-Zw, CIX b, No. 9
 Witt, 103, No. 6
 Braun-Cal-Wolff, 120, No. 11; 148, No. 52
 Riga (1559), 277
 Lün, No. 11
 Prussia, Sehling IV, 102
 Braun-Lün, 132, No. 12, No. 54
 Kurpfälz 1577
 Mans, Sehling I, 2, 228
 Geo. Ernst, Sehling I, 2, 321
 Marb, 81, No. 17
 etc., etc.

Kirchenbuch 79, No. 1 of the additional Easter
 collects. 278, No. 1 in the Order for the Burial
 of the Dead.

Common Service Book 444, No. 1 Burial of the
 Dead

In the Reformation Hymn Books

- Klug 1533
 Klug 1535
 Klug 1543
 Babst 1545

Erlangen 56, 320

- 19—(1533) Lord God, dear Father, Who on this day through Thy Holy Spirit didst enlighten and teach the hearts of Thy believing ones: Grant to us, that we may have right understanding through the same Spirit and at all times rejoice in His comfort and power, for etc.

This collect follows the hymn, "Nu bitten wir den heiligen Geist," in Klug 1533. It is a translation of the proper collect for Pentecost.

Source: Deus, qui hodierna die corda fidelium sancti spiritus illustratione docuisti, da nobis in eodem spiritu recta sapere: et de eius semper consolatione gaudere. Per dominum . . in unitate eiusdem . . .

Gelasian—Gerbert I, 126—For Pentecost
Wilson 344

Gregorian—Muratori II, 90
Menard 98

Lietzmann 71

Sarum—Legg 161

Milan Missal—I, 240

Brandenburg—CXVIIIa

Bamberg—CXX

Nürnberg—127

Constance—LXXXVIII verso

Augsberg Breviary—309

Missale Romanum—381

In the Kirchen Ordnungen

Mark Br, No. 30

Saxon (1539), Sehling I, 280

(1540-55), Sehling I, 275, 278

Br-Nr, CXLIX, No. 20

Spangenberg, CXII

Schwä-Hall, LXXIb, No. 5
 Riga (1537), 171, No. 20
 Naumburg St. W, Sehling I, 2, 82
 Otthain Rhein Pfalz, 36, No. 35
 Meck, 93, No. 7
 Wirt, LXII verso
 Pf-Zw, CX
 Witt, 103, No. 7
 Otthain,
 Lün, No. 14
 Prussia 1568, Sehling IV, 102
 Braun-Cal, 122
 Braun-Lün, 134
 Oestreich, CXLIIII, No. 57, cf. No. 59
 Saxe-Cob, 118, No. 50
 Magd, 82, No. 19

Kirchenbuch 95

Common Service Book 114

In the Reformation Hymn Books

Klug 1533

Klug 1535

Klug 1543

Babst 1545

Erlangen 56, 338

20—(1533) Almighty, Everlasting God, Thou Who hast taught us to know and confess in true faith that Thou art One, Eternal God in Three Persons of equal power and glory and therefore to be adored: We beseech Thee that Thou wilt keep us steadfast in such faith at all times, in the face of all opposed to us which may attack us, Thou Who livest and reignest from eternity to eternity. Amen.

This collect follows the hymn, "Gott der Vater won vns bey," in Klug 1533. It is a translation of the proper collect for the Festival of the Holy Trinity. As this Festival did not come into general observance in the Church until a comparatively late period, the propers are not of equal antiquity with those of other great festivals and do not appear in the old sacramentaries. The earliest appearance of the source collect is at the end of the Othobon Codex of the Gregorian Sacramentary, which Muratori prints, II, 381. Menard also prints this collect, 105. But the general observance of the Feast is post-Gregorian. With the printing of the *Missale* the collect entered all uses.

Source: Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui dedisti famulis tuis in confessione uere fide eterne trinitatis gloriam agnoscere, et in potentia maiestatis adorare unitatem quaesumus, ut eiusdem fidei firmitate ab omnibus semper muniamur aduersis.
Per.

Othobon Codex—Muratori II, 381
Sarum, Legg, 170—In die sancte trinitatis; 384,

Missa de sancta trinitate.

Milan—I, 252

Bamberg—CXXVII

Brandenburg—CXX

Nürnberg—133 verso

Constance—XCIII

Augsberg Breviary—316

Missale Romanum—399, (47)

In the Kirchen Ordnungen

Br-Nr, 21

Saxon (1540-55), Sehling I, 275, 276, 278

Mark Br, No. 31

Rhein Pf, 7
 Riga, 172, No. 21
 Naumburg St. W, Sehling I, 2, 83
 Spangenberg, CXIX
 Otthain. RPB, 36, No. 36
 Schwä-Hall, LXXII, No. 6
 Wirt, LVIII
 Witt, 103b, No. 8
 Otthainrich (1556)
 Braun-Cal, 124
 Braun-Lün, 136, No. 17
 Braun-Wolff, 136
 Lün, No. 16
 Meck, 94, No. 8
 Prussia, Sehling IV, 102
 Oestreich, CXLV, No. 62
 Mans, Sehling I, 2, 229
 Saxe-Cob, 104, No. 5
 Magd, 82, No. 20

Kirchenbuch 99, No. 2
Common Service Book 117

In the Reformation Hymn Books

Klug 1533
 Klug 1535
 Klug 1543
 Babst 1545

Erlangen 56, 335

21—(1533) O Thou dear Lord God, Who in connection with this wonderful Sacrament hast commanded us to commemorate and preach Thy Passion: Grant that we may so use this Sacrament of Thy Body and Blood that daily and richly we may be conscious of Thy redemption.

In Klug 1533 this collect is printed after the direction "to sing Ps. CXI when one receives the Sacrament;" in other books it follows the hymn, "Got sey gelobet vnd gebenedeiet." This is a translation of the proper collect of the Mass of Corpus Christi.

Source: Deus qui nobis sub sacramento mirabili passionis tue memoriam reliquisti, tribue quesumus ita nos corporis et sanguinis tui sacra mysteria uenerari ut tue redemptionis tue fructum in nobis iugiter sentiamus. Qui uiuis.

This collect was written by St. Thomas Aquinas in 1264. At the command of Pope Urban IV, he composed an Office for the Feast of Corpus Christi. See his *Opera Omnia*, Parma ed. Tom XV, which is Tom I of the *Opuscula Theologica Praecipua*, *Opusculum V.* p. 253, col. 2. The Mass, p. 257, col. 1

This collect is found in two of the older sacramentaries, of course as a later insertion:

Sarum—Burntisland ed. col. 455

Mozarabic—(Migne Pat. Lat.), 24.

Milan—I, 256

Bamberg—CXXIX

Brandenburg—CCCXXXb

Nürnberg—135

Constance—XCIII verso

Augsberg Breviary—319b

Missale Romanum—405 and (54) Missa de Ss.
Eucharistiae Sacramento

In the Kirchen Ordnungen

Erfurt (1526)

Riga, 179, No. 24

Saxon (1540-55), Sehling I, 275, 278

Spangenberg XIII, XXVI, CXX

Oestreich, CLXVI, No. 145

Saxe-Cob, 36; 114, No. 11

Magd, 80, No. 14

Kirchenbuch 75

Common Service Book 93

In the Reformation Hymn Books

Blum, *Enchiridion*, 1530

Klug 1533

Klug 1535

Klug 1543

Babst 1545

Erlangen 56, 318

- 22—(1533) Lord God, Heavenly Father, Thou Who createst holy desire, good counsel and right works: Give to Thy servants peace which the world cannot give, so that our hearts may cling to Thy commandments, and through Thy protection we may live our days quietly and secure from our enemies; through Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord.

This collect follows the hymn, "Verley vns friden gnediglich" in Klug 1533. It is a translation of the proper collect of the Missa pro pace.

Source: Deus a quo sancta desideria, recta consilia et iusta sunt opera, da servis tuis illam quam mundus dare non potest pacem, ut et corda nostra mandatis tuis dedita et hostium sublata formidine, tempora sint tua protectione tranquilla. Per Dominum.

Gelasian—Muratori I, 127, 690

Gerbert I, 276

Wilson 228

Gregorian—Muratori II, 203
 Sarum—Legg 210, 395, 497
 Milan—I, 260
 Bamberg—CCXCI verso
 Brandenburg—CCCXL
 Nürnberg—233 verso
 Constance—XXV verso
 Augsburg Breviary—216b
 Missale Romanum—(83).

In the Kirchen Ordnungen

Br-Nr, CLI, No. 25
 Riga, 164, No. 7
 Mark Br, No. 35
 Schwä-Hall, LXXIII, No. 10
 Lün, No. 25
 Otthain RPB, 34b, No. 24
 Meck, 94b, No. 11
 Braun-Cal-Wolff, 131, No. 25
 Witt, 104, No. 11
 Pf-Zw, CXI, No. 15
 Oestreich, CLXVII, No. 148
 Mans, Sehling, I, 2, 231
 Geo. Ernst, Sehling I, 2, 320
 Saxe-Cob, 47
 Magd, 94

Kirchenbuch 185

Common Service Book 35, 241

In the Reformation Hymn Books

Klug 1533
 Klug 1535
 Klug 1543
 Babst 1545

Erlangen 56, 345

- 23—(1535) Merciful God, Heavenly Father, Thou hast said to us through the mouth of Thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, The harvest is great, but few are the laborers; pray the Lord of the harvest that He will send laborers into His harvest. Upon this Thy divine command, we pray from our hearts, that Thou wilt give Thy Holy Spirit richly to these Thy servants, together with us and all those who are called to serve Thy Word, so that with great crowds we may be Thy evangelists, remain true and steadfast against the devil, the world and the flesh, to the end that Thy Name may be hallowed, Thy Kingdom increased, Thy Will be done. Do Thou also at length restrain and bring to an end the detestable abomination of the pope, Mohammed, and other sects which blaspheme Thy Name, hinder Thy Kingdom and oppose Thy Will. This our prayer, because Thou hast commanded, taught, and assured, do Thou graciously hear, even as we believe and trust, through Thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, Who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost in eternity. Amen.

This collect is found in Luther's Order for Ordination which has been dated around 1535. It is to be considered as an original. It has been included in the Order for Ordination in the *Kirchenbuch*, 288, and in the *Common Service Book*, 459.

- 24—(1543) Almighty Lord God, grant to us who believe that Thy only Son, our Saviour, ascended this Day into Heaven, that we, too, in spirit may walk and dwell with Him in the heavenly life; through the same Thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

This collect is a translation of the proper collect for the Festival of the Ascension of our

Lord and appears in Klug 1543 under the title "A Prayer on the Day of the Ascension of Christ."

Source: Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum redemptorem nostrum ad celos ascendisse credimus, ipsi quoque mente in celestibus habitemus. Per eundem.

The original of this collect, its germ, goes back through the Gelasian, Muratori I, 585—Gerbert I, 120—Wilson 107,—to the oldest of the sacramentaries, the Leonianum, Muratori I, 315. This is the original form; the present form is found in

Gelasian—Gerbert I, 121

Wilson 342

Gregorian—Muratori II, 85

Menard 95

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PREFACES
TO THE
BOOKS OF THE BIBLE
1522-1545

INTRODUCTION

Luther's work on the translation of the Bible into German extended over many years. His translation of the New Testament was begun in 1521, during his residence at the Wartburg; it was published in September, 1522. Before the New Testament came off the press, he was already at work upon the Old Testament. November 2, 1522, he wrote to Spalatin,¹ "In translating the Old Testament, I am only at Leviticus. . . . I have decided to shut myself up at home and hasten the work, so that Moses may be in press by January. We shall publish this separately, then the historical books, and finally the prophets, for the size and cost of the books make it necessary for us to divide them and publish them a little at a time."

This is the procedure that was actually followed. The first part of the Old Testament, the Pentateuch, was published in 1523. It was followed closely by the second part, which contained the remainder of the historical books, and which was completed before December 4th.² At that time he was at work on the third part. This section, which comprised Job, the Psalter, and the Books of Solomon, appeared in 1524. The work on the prophetic books proceeded very slowly. It was not completed until 1532, though single books were published separately before that time,—Isaiah in 1528, Daniel in 1530. After the publication of the prophets, all the books were collected into one volume, and Luther's complete Bible appeared in 1534.

Meanwhile, Luther was continually revising the work that was already in print. The second edition of the New Testament, issued three months after the first (December, 1522) contained many alterations in the text, as did the second edition of the Psalter in 1531. In this work of revision, as in the original translation, Luther had the assistance of his Wittenberg colleagues,—Melancthon, Bugenhagen, Jonas, Cruciger, Aurogallus, and George Rörer. Luther called them his Sanhedrim. Their weekly meetings discussed the passages that seemed to need correction or amendment. The changes which Luther approved were incorporated in the

editions after 1534. The most important of these was that of 1541. The last edition which Luther himself supervised appeared in 1545.

As an aid to the understanding of his Bible, Luther provided most of the books with prefaces. In most cases they were very brief and consisted of little more than summaries of contents; in a few instances they were more extensive, and discussed questions of the nature of the books, of date, authorship, and doctrine. Because of the importance of some of these prefaces, it has seemed wise to include all of them in this edition, with the exception of those to the Apocrypha, which are interesting, but not especially important.

Literature. There is a large literature on Luther's Bible translation. The best summary of it is that of Nestle, in the *Realencyk* III, 70 ff. In the *Weimar Ed.* there have been published, to date, five volumes of Luther's Bible, four of which deal with the German Bible. There are extensive bibliographies. The work is, however, not yet complete.

The prefaces are collected in *Erlangen Ed.* LXIII, 7 ff., and *St. Louis Ed.* XIV, 2 ff.

CHARLES M. JACOBS.

MOUNT AIRY,
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

NOTES ON INTRODUCTION TO THE PREFACES TO THE
BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

¹ ENDERS IV, 22; SMITH & JACOBS, *Luther's Correspondence* II, 141.

² Cf. ENDERS IV, 261; SMITH & JACOBS, *op. cit.*, 210.

I. INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT

1545 (1523)

There are some who have a small opinion of the Old Testament, thinking of it as a book that was given to the Jewish people only, and is now out of date, containing only the Old stories of past times. They think that they have enough in the New Testament and pretend to seek in the Old Testament only a spiritual sense¹. Origen, Jerome, and many persons of high standing have held this view, but Christ says, John 5:39 "Search in the Scriptures, for they give testimony of me," and St. Paul bids Timothy continue in the reading of the Scriptures, and declares, in Romans 1, that the Gospel was promised by God in the Scriptures, and in I Corinthians xv, he says that Christ came of the seed of David, died, and rose from the dead, according to the Scriptures; and St. Peter, too, points us back, more than once, to the Scriptures.

They do this in order to teach us that the Scriptures of the Old Testament are not to be despised, but to be read, because they themselves base the New Testament upon them, and prove it by them, and appeal to them, as St. Luke writes, in Acts xvii, saying that they at Thessalonica searched the Scriptures daily to discover whether it agreed with what Paul taught. The ground and proof of the New Testament are surely not to be despised, and therefore the Old Testament is to be highly regarded. And what is the New Testament except an open preaching and proclamation of Christ, appointed by the sayings of the Old Testament and fulfilled by Christ?

But in order that those who know no better may have incentive and instruction for reading the Old Testament, I have prepared this introduction, with whatever ability God has given me. I beg and faithfully warn every pious Christian not to stumble at the simplicity of the language and the

Matt.
11: 25

stories that will often meet him there. He should not doubt that however simple they may seem, these are the very words, works, judgments, and deeds of the high majesty, power, and wisdom of God; for this is Scripture, and it makes fools of all the wise and prudent, and stands open to the small and foolish, as Christ says, in Matthew xi. Therefore let your own thoughts and feelings go, and think of the Scriptures as the loftiest and noblest of holy things, as the richest of mines, which can never be worked out, so that you may find the wisdom of God that He lays before you in such foolish and simple guise, in order that He may quench all pride. Here you will find the swaddling-clothes and the mangers in which Christ lies, and to which the angel points the shepherds. Simple and little are the swaddling-clothes, but dear is the treasure, Christ, that lies in them.

Know, then, that the Old Testament is a book of laws, which teaches what men are to do and not to do, and gives, besides, examples and stories of how these laws are kept or broken; just as the New Testament is a Gospel-book, or book of grace, and teaches where one is to get the power to fulfill the law. But in the New Testament there are given, along with the teaching about grace, many other teachings that are laws and commandments for the ruling of the flesh, since in this life the spirit is not perfected and grace alone cannot rule. Just so in the Old Testament there are, beside the laws, certain promises and offers of grace, by which the holy fathers and prophets, under the law, were kept, like us, under the faith of Christ. Nevertheless, just as the peculiar and chief teaching of the New Testament is the proclamation of grace and peace in Christ, through the forgiveness of sins; so the peculiar and chief teaching of the Old Testament is the teaching of laws, the showing of sin, and the furtherance of good. Know that this is what you have to expect in the Old Testament.

Genesis

We come, first, to the books of Moses; he teaches in his first book how all creatures were made, and (as the chief cause for his writing) whence sin came, and death, namely,

by Adam's fall, from the devil's wickedness. But immediately thereafter, before Moses gets to the law, he teaches whence the help is to come, by which sin and death are to be driven out; namely, not by the law or men's own works (since there was no law as yet), but by "the seed of the woman," Christ, promised to Adam and Abraham. Thus from the beginning of the Scriptures, and throughout them all, faith is praised above all works and laws and merits. The first book of Moses, therefore, is made up almost entirely of illustrations of faith and unbelief, and the fruits that faith and unbelief bear, and is almost a Gospel-book. Gen. 3:15

Afterward, in the second book, when the world was now Exodus full, and was sunk in blindness, so that men scarcely knew any longer what sin was or where death came from, God brings Moses forward with the law and takes up a special people, in order to enlighten the world again by them, and by the law to reveal sin anew. Thus He organizes this people with all kinds of laws, and separates it from all other peoples, has them build a tabernacle and begins a form of worship, appoints princes and officers, and provides His people splendidly with both laws and men, to rule them in the body before the world, and in the spirit before God.

The special topic of the third book is the appointment of Leviticus the priesthood, with the statutes and laws according to which the priests are to act in teaching the people. There we see that a priestly office is instituted only because of sin, to proclaim sin to the people and make atonement before God. Thus all of its work is to deal with sin and sinners. Therefore no temporal wealth is given to the priests and they are neither commanded nor permitted to rule men's bodies, but the only work that is assigned them is to care for the people who are in sin.

In the fourth book, after the laws have been given, the Numbers princes and priests instituted, the tabernacle and the form of worship set up, and everything that pertains to a people of God made ready, then the work and the practice of all this begins, and a test is made of the way that such an order of

things will go and what will happen under it. That is why this book says so much about the disobedience of the people and the plagues that came upon them, and some of the laws are interpreted and the number of the laws is increased. For that is the way it always goes; laws are quickly given, but when they are to go into effect and be enforced, they meet with nothing but hindrance, and nothing will go as the law demands. This book is a notable example of how there is nothing at all in making people righteous with laws, but, as St. Paul says, laws cause only sin and wrath.

Deuteronomy

In the fifth book, after the people have been punished because of their sins, and God has enticed them a little with grace, in order that by His kindness in giving them the two kingdoms they might be moved to keep His law with pleasure and love,—then Moses repeats the whole law, with the story of all that has happened to them (except what concerns the priesthood), and explains anew everything that belongs either to the bodily or to the spiritual government of a people. Thus Moses, as a perfect law-giver, fulfilled all the duties of his office; he not only gave the law, but was there when men were to fulfil it, and when things went wrong, he explained it and re-established it. But this explanation in the fifth book really contains nothing else than faith toward God and love to one's neighbor; for all God's laws come to that. Therefore, down to the twentieth chapter, Moses, in his explanation of the law, guards against everything that may destroy faith in God, and from there to the end of the book, against everything that hinders love.

The Law Comprehensive

It is to be observed, in the first place, that Moses provides so exactly for the organization of the people under laws as to leave human reason no room to choose a single work of its own, or to invent its own form of worship; for he not only teaches fear, love, and trust toward God, but also provides so many ways of outward worship,—sacrifices, thanksgivings, fasts, mortifications, etc.,—that no one needs to choose anything else. Moreover he gives instructions for planting and tilling and marrying and fighting and ruling

children, servants, and households, buying and selling, borrowing and repaying, and everything that one can do, either outwardly or inwardly. It goes so far that some of the prescriptions are to be regarded as foolish and useless.

Why, dear sir, does God do that? In the end, because He has taken this people to be His own and has willed to be their God; therefore He would so rule them that all their doings may surely be right in His eyes. For if anyone does anything for which God's Word has not first given warrant, it counts for nothing before God and is labor lost, for in the Fifth Book in chapters iv and xiii, He forbids any addition to His laws, and in xii He says that they shall not do what seems to them right. The Psalter, too, and all the prophets lament that the people are doing good works that they themselves have chosen and that were not commanded by God. He cannot and will not suffer those who are His to undertake to do anything that He has not commanded, no matter how good it may be; for obedience, which depends on God's Word, is of all works the noblest and best.

Deut. 4:2;
12: 32
Deut. 12:8

Since this life, however, cannot be without external forms of worship, He put before them all these forms and included them in His commandment, so that if they must or would do God any outward service, they might take one of these, and not some form of service that they themselves had invented. So they could be sure and certain that their work was done in obedience to God and His Word. Thus they are prevented on every hand from following their own reason and free will, in doing good and living aright; and yet room, place, time, person, work, and form are so determined and prescribed, that they cannot complain that they must follow the example of alien worship.

In the second place, it is to be noted that the laws are of three kinds. Some speak only of temporal things, as do our imperial laws. These are established by God chiefly because of the wicked, that they may not do worse things. Such laws are for prevention rather than for instruction,^a as when Moses commands to dismiss a wife with a letter of

Three
Kinds
of Laws

Num. 5:15 separation, or that a husband shall bring an "offering of jealousy" for his wife, and may take other wives besides. All these are temporal laws. There are some, however, that teach the external worship of God, as was said above.

Over and above these are the laws about faith and love, so that all other laws must and ought to be measured by the laws of faith and love; that is to say, they are to be kept where their observance does not conflict with faith and love; but where they conflict with faith and love, they are entirely void. Therefore we read that David did not kill the murderer Joab, though he had twice deserved death; and in II Kings xiv he promises the woman of Tekoa that her son shall not die, though he has slain his brother; Absalom, too, he did not kill. Moreover, David himself ate of the holy bread of the priests, and Tamar thought the king might give her in marriage to her step-brother, Amnon. From these and similar stories one sees plainly that the kings, priests, and heads of the people often transgressed the laws boldly, at the demand of faith and love, and therefore that faith and love are always to be mistresses of the law and to have all laws in their power. For since all laws aim at faith and love, none of them can be valid, or be a law, if it conflicts with faith and love.

Even to the present day, then, the Jews are greatly in error when they hold so strictly and so hard to some of the laws of Moses. They would rather let love and peace be destroyed than eat or drink with us, or do things of that kind. They do not see the real meaning of the law. This understanding of it is necessary to all who live under laws, and not to the Jews only; for Christ says, in Matthew xii, that one might break the Sabbath if an ox had fallen into a pit, and might help it out, though that would be only a temporal necessity and a temporal injury; how much more then ought one boldly break all kinds of laws when bodily necessity demands it, provided nothing is done against faith and love, as Christ says that David did when he ate the holy bread.

But why does Moses mix up his laws in such a disorderly

II Sam.
14: 11

I Sam.
21: 6

Matt.
12: 11

Mark
2: 23

way? Why does he not put the temporal laws together in one group and the spiritual in another, and the laws of faith and love in still another? Moreover, he sometimes repeats a law so often and uses certain words so many times that it becomes tedious to read it or listen to it. The answer is that Moses writes as the case demands, so that his book is a picture and illustration of government and life. For this is what happens when things are moving,—now this work has to be done and now that, and no man can so arrange his life (if he is to act in a godly way) that this day he uses only spiritual laws and that day only temporal, but God disposes the laws as He sets the stars in the heavens and the flowers in the fields, and a man must be ready every hour for anything, and do the first thing that comes to his hand. The books of Moses are mixed up just this way.

That he is so insistent and often repeats the same thing shows the nature of his office; for one who is to rule a people with laws must always hold on, always insist, and be patient with the people, as with asses. No work of law is done with pleasure and love; it is all forced and compelled. Since Moses, then, is a lawgiver, he has to show by his insistence that the work of the law is a forced work, and has to make the people weary, until, through this insistence, they recognize their illness and their dislike for God's Law, and long for grace,⁴ as appears below.

In the third place, Moses' true intention is to reveal sin and put to shame all the presumption of human ability; therefore St. Paul calls him in Galatians ii and iii, "a minister of sin," and his office "an office of death," and in Romans iii and vii, he says, "By the law cometh only the knowledge of sin," and "by the works of the law no one becomes righteous before God. For by the law Moses can do no more than tell what men ought to do and not to do; but power and ability to do it and not to do it he does not give, and so he lets us stick in sin. If we, then, stick in sin, death presses instantly upon us as vengeance and punishment for sin. Therefore Paul calls sin "the sting of death,"

The Law
a Revela-
tion of
Sin
II Cor.
3:7
Rom. 7:7

because it is by sin that death has all its right and power over us. But if it were not for the law, there would be no sin; therefore it is all the fault of Moses, who, by the law, stirs up and censures sin, and then upon sin death follows, with its power, so that Moses' office is rightly called by St. Paul an office of sin and death; for by his law-giving he brings nothing upon us but sin and death.

Nevertheless, this office of sin and death is good and very necessary; for where God's law is not, there human reason is so blind that it cannot recognize sin. Human reason does not know that unbelief and despair of God is sin; nay, it knows nothing about man's duty to believe God and trust Him; thus it goes on, hardened in its blindness, and feels this sin not at all, doing meanwhile some works that would otherwise be good and leading an outwardly honorable life. Then it thinks it stands well, and enough has been done in this matter. We see this in the heathen and the hypocrites, when their life is at its best. Besides, the reason does not know that the wicked inclination of the flesh and hatred against enemies are sin, but because it feels that all men are so inclined, it holds that these things are natural and right and thinks it enough to guard against outward wrong-doing. Thus it goes on and regards its illness as strength, its sin as right, its bad as good, and can make no progress.

See, then! To drive away this blindness and hardened presumption, Moses' office is necessary. Now he cannot drive them away, unless he reveals them, and makes them known. He does this by the law, when he teaches that men ought to fear, trust, believe, and love God; and ought to have beside no evil desire or hatred for any man. When Nature, then, hears this aright, it must be frightened, for it certainly finds neither trust nor faith, neither fear nor love to God, and neither love nor purity toward one's neighbor, but only unbelief, doubt, contempt and hatred to God, and only evil will and desire toward one's neighbor. But when it finds this, death is instantly before its eyes, ready to devour such a sinner and swallow him up in hell.

See, that is what is meant by bringing death upon us by sin and killing us by sin, that is, stirring up sin by the law, and setting it before our eyes, and driving all our presumption into despondency and trembling and despair, so that a man can do no more than cry, with the prophet, "I am rejected by God," or, as we say in German, "I am the devil's; I can never be saved." That is what St. Paul means by those short words in I Corinthians xv, "The sting of death is sin, I Cor. 15: 56 but the strength of sin is the law." It is as if he were saying, "Death stings and slays us, because of the sin that is found in us and makes us guilty of death; but sin is found in us and gives us so mightily to death, because of the law, which reveals sin to us and teaches us to recognize it; we did not know it before, and therefore felt secure."

Now see with what power Moses conducts and performs his office. For, in order to put Nature to the very utmost shame, he not only gives laws that speak of natural and true sins, such as the Ten Commandments, but he makes sins of things that are, in their nature, no sins, and forces and presses sins upon them in heaps. For unbelief and evil desire are, in their nature, sin, and worthy of death; but not to eat leavened bread on Easter, and to eat any unclean beast, to make no sign on the body, and all those things that the Levitical priesthood deals with as sin,—these things are not, in their nature, sinful or wicked, but they become sins because they are forbidden by the law. This law can be done away; but the Ten Commandments cannot be done away, for sin against the Ten Commandments would be sin, even though there were no commandments, or they were not known; just as the unbelief of the heathen is sin, even though they do not know or think that it is sin.

Thus we see that these many laws of Moses were given not only to prevent anyone from choosing ways of his own to do good and live well, as has been said above, but rather that sins might become more, and be heaped up beyond measure, to burden the conscience so that hardened blindness might have to recognize itself and feel its own inability and

nothingness in respect of good, and thus be compelled and forced by the law to seek something beyond the law and its own ability, namely, God's grace, promised in Christ, Who was to come. Every law of God is good and right, even if it only bids men carry dung or gather straw, and no man can be righteous or good of heart who does not keep this good law, or who keeps it unwillingly. But Nature cannot keep it otherwise than unwillingly; therefore, through God's law, it must recognize and feel its wickedness, and it must sigh and long for the aid of divine grace in Christ.

Christ
and the
Law

Then, when Christ comes, the law ceases, especially the Levitical law, which, as has been said, makes sins of things that are not in their nature, sinful. The Ten Commandments do not cease, in the sense that they are no longer to be kept or fulfilled, but Moses' part in them ceases,⁷ and no longer strengthens sin by the Ten Commandments, and sin is no longer the sting of death. For through Christ sin is forgiven, God is reconciled, and man's heart has begun to be inclined to the law. Moses can no longer rebuke it and make it sinful, because it has not kept the commandments and is guilty of death, as he did before grace came and before Christ was there.

- II Cor. 3: 7ff St. Paul teaches this, in II Corinthians iii, when he says that the glory in the countenance of Moses ceases because of the glory in the countenance of Jesus Christ; that is, the work of Moses, which makes sinners of us and puts us to shame with the brightness of the knowledge of our wickedness and nothingness, no longer causes us pain and no longer terrifies us with death. For we now have the glory in the face of Christ, that is, the work of grace whereby we know Christ, by whose righteousness, life, and strength we fulfill the law and overcome death and hell. The three apostles saw Moses and Elias on Mt. Tabor, and yet were not frightened at them, because of the tender glory in the face of Christ;
- Exod. 34: 29ff but in Exodus xxxiv, where Christ was not present, the children of Israel could not endure the glory and brightness in Moses' face, and he had to put a covering over it.

There are three kinds of pupils of the law. The first are those who hear the law and despise it, and lead an impious life, without fear. To these the law does not come. They are signified by the calf-worshippers in the wilderness, on whose account Moses broke the tables; he did not bring them the law.

Three
Kinds of
Pupils
of the
Law

The second are those who attempt to fulfill it by their own power, without grace. They are signified by the people who could not look on Moses' countenance, when he brought the tables a second time. To these the law comes, but they endure it not; therefore they put a covering over it and lead a life of hypocrisy, with outward works of the law, though the law makes everything sin, if the covering is removed. For the law shows that our ability is nothing without Christ's grace.

The third are those who see Moses clearly, without a covering. These are they who understand the meaning of the law and how it demands impossible things. Then sin comes into power, death is mighty, Goliath's spear is like a weaver's beam and its head weighs six hundred shekels of brass, and all the children of Israel flee before him, but David only. Christ, our Lord, saves us from all that; for if Christ's glory did not come along with this glory of Moses, no one could bear the glory of the law, the terror of sin and death. These pupils fall away from all works and presumption and learn from the law nothing else except to recognize sin and to sigh for Christ; and this is the true work of Moses and the true purpose of the law.

I Sam.
17: 7

So Moses himself has told us that his work and teaching should last until Christ, and then cease, when he says in Deuteronomy xviii, "A prophet shall the Lord thy God raise up unto thee from among thy brethren, like unto me; him shalt thou hear; etc." This is the noblest saying in all of Moses; indeed it is the very pith of him; and the apostles appealed to it and made great use of it to strengthen the Gospel and abolish the law; all the prophets, too, drew heavily upon it. For since God here promises another Moses,

Deut.
18: 15

whom they are to hear, it follows of necessity that he would teach something different from Moses; and Moses gives up his power to him, and yields to him, so that he may be heard. This prophet cannot, then, teach law, for Moses has done that to the uttermost, and for the law's sake there would be no need to raise up another prophet. Therefore this word was certainly spoken concerning the teaching of grace and concerning Christ.

**The Old
Testament**

For this reason also, St. Paul calls the law of Moses "the Old Testament," and Christ does the same when He institutes "the New Testament." Thus it is a testament, because in it God promises and bequeathes to the people of Israel the land of Canaan, if they keep it. He gave it to them, also, and it was confirmed by the death and blood of sheep and goats. But since this testament rested not upon God's grace, but upon men's works, it had to grow old and cease, and the promised land had to be lost again, because the law cannot be fulfilled by works. And another testament had to come, which would not grow old, and would not rest upon our deeds, but upon God's words and works, so that it might last forever. Therefore it is confirmed by the death and blood of an eternal Person, and an everlasting land is promised and given.

**The
Prophets
and
Histories**

Let this be enough about the books and work of Moses. What, then, are the other books, the prophets and the histories? I answer: They are nothing else than what Moses is; for all of them do the work that Moses does, and guard against the false prophets, that they may not lead the people to works, but allow them to stay in the work of Moses and the knowledge of sin. They hold fast to this purpose, in order to keep the people conscious of their own impotence through a right understanding of the law, and thus drive them to Christ, as Moses does. Therefore they enlarge upon what Moses says of Christ, and furnish two kinds of examples,—examples of those who understand Moses and those who do not understand him rightly,—together with examples of the punishments and rewards that come to both. Thus the

prophets are nothing else than administrators and witnesses of Moses and his work, to bring everyone to Christ through the law.

In conclusion, I ought also indicate the spiritual meaning⁷ presented to us by the Levitical law and the Mosaic priesthood. But there is too much of this to write; it needs space and time, and should be expounded with the living voice. For Moses is, indeed, a well of all wisdom and understanding, out of which has sprung all that the prophets knew and said. Moreover, even the New Testament flows out of it and is founded in it, as we have heard. Let it be my service to give a little hint to those who have the grace and understanding to search for it.

The
Allegorical
Meaning
of the
Old Test-
ament

If, then, you would interpret well and surely, set Christ before you; for He is the man to whom it all applies. Make nothing else of the high priest Aaron than Christ alone, as is done by the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is almost enough, all by itself, to interpret all the figures of Moses. Likewise it is certain that Christ Himself is both the sacrifice and the altar, for He sacrificed Himself, with His own blood; as the same Epistle announces. Now, as the Levitical high priest, by his sacrifice, took away only the artificial sins,⁸ which were in their nature no sins, so our high priest, Christ, by His own sacrifice and blood, has taken away the true sin, which is in its nature sin, and He has gone in once through the veil to God to make atonement for us. Thus you should apply to Christ personally and to no one else, all that is written about the high priest.

Heb. 7-10

But the high priest's sons, who are engaged in the daily sacrifice, you should interpret to mean ourselves, who, in the presence of our father Christ, sitting in heaven, live here on earth in the body, and have not passed through to Him except by faith, spiritually. Their office of slaughter and sacrifice signifies nothing else than the preaching of the Gospel, by which the old man is slain and offered to God, burned and consumed by the fire of love, in the Holy Ghost; and this sacrifice is a sweet savour to God, that is, it pro-

duces a conscience that is good, pure, and secure before God.
 Rom. 12: 1 This is the interpretation that St. Paul makes, in Romans xii, when he teaches that we are to offer our bodies to God, a living, holy, and acceptable sacrifice; and this we do (as has been said) by the constant practice of the Gospel, by preaching it and believing it.

Let this suffice for the present as a brief suggestion for seeking Christ and the Gospel in the Old Testament.

“He that reads this Bible should know that I have been careful to put the Name of God that the Jews call *Tetragrammaton*³⁰ in capital letters, and the other, which they call *Adonai*³¹ half in capitals; for among all the names of God, these two alone are applied in the Scriptures to the real, true God, while the others are often ascribed to the angels and saints. I have done this so that men can draw the strong
 Jer. 23: 6 conclusion that Christ is true God, since Jeremiah xxiii calls Him LORD, saying, “They shall call Him LORD, our Righteousness.” The same thing is to be found in more passages.

The
 Difficulty
 of Trans-
 lation

Herewith, I commend all my readers to Christ, and ask that they will help me get from God the power to carry this work through to a profitable end, for I freely admit that I undertook too much, especially in trying to put the Old Testament into German. The Hebrew language, sad to say, has gone down so far that even the Jews know little enough about it, and their glosses and interpretations (which I have tested) are not to be trusted. I think that if the Bible is to come up again, we Christians are the ones who must do the work, for we have the understanding of Christ, without which the knowledge of the language is nothing. Because they were without it, the old interpreters, even Jerome, made mistakes in many passages. Though I cannot claim that I have got everything, nevertheless, I venture to say that this German Bible is plainer and surer, at many points, than the

Latin, and so it is true that if the printers do not, as usual, spoil it with their carelessness, the German language has here a better Bible than the Latin language. I call upon its readers to say whether this is so.

And now, of course, the mud will stick to the wheel, and there will be no one so stupid that he will not want to be my master in this work, and criticize me here and there. Let them go. From the beginning I have considered the fact that it would be easier to find ten thousand to criticize my work than one to do a twentieth of it after me. I, too, would like to be a great scholar and give brilliant proof of what I know by criticizing St. Jerome's Latin Bible, but he also could defy me to do the work after him. If there is anyone who is so far above me in scholarship, let him undertake to translate the whole Bible into German, and let him tell me, after that, what he can do. If he does better than I, why should he not be preferred to me. I thought I was a scholar, and I know that, by God's grace, I am more learned than all the sophists in the universities; but now I see that I cannot handle even my own native German tongue. Nor have I read, up to this time, a book or letter which contained the real German language. No one thinks of speaking German rightly either, especially the people in the chancelleries and the miserable preachers and wretched writers³³ who think they have the right to change the German tongue, and invent new words for us every day,—*bcherzigen*, *behandigen*, *erspriesslich*, *erschliesslich*, and the like. Yes, my dear man, there are also *bethoren*³⁴ and *ernarren*.³⁴

Luther's
Critics

In a word, if we were, all of us, to work together, we would have plenty to do in bringing the Bible to light, one with his knowledge, another with his language. Even as it is, I have not worked at this alone,³⁵ but have used the services of anyone whom I could get. Therefore I ask everyone to desist from abuse and leave the poor people undisturbed, and help me, if he can. If he will not do that, let him take up the Bible himself and make one of his own. Those who only abuse and worry others, are certainly not so godly

and honest that they would care to have a pure Bible, since they know that they cannot produce it; but they would like to be clever masters of another's science, though in their own science they have never been even pupils.

May God complete the work that He has begun. Amen.

NOTES ON INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT

¹ This was first published in 1523, in connection with the historical books, to which alone it refers.

² i.e., An allegorical meaning.

³ *Wehrgesetz mehr dem Lehrgesetz.*

⁴ Cf. Vol. II, p. 354 this edition.

⁵ *Mose amft drinnen.*

⁶ i.e., The name "new testament" implies that there is another testament that is henceforth "old."

⁷ i.e., The inner meaning, which is reached by interpreting the Old Testament as a book of allegories.

⁸ *Die gemachten Sünden*, i.e., sins against the ceremonial law; Cf. above, pp. 374, 375.

⁹ This section appears only in the first edition, of 1523.

¹⁰ i.e., Jahweh, or Jehovah.

¹¹ i.e., "Lord."

¹² *Lumpenprediger und Puppenschreiber.*

¹³ "To make a fool of."

¹⁴ "To play the fool for."

¹⁵ See above, p. 365.

PREFACE TO THE BOOK OF JOB

1524

The book of Job deals with the question, whether misfortune can come to the righteous from God. Job stands fast, and holds that God chastises even the righteous without reason, to His praise, as Christ also says, in John iii, of John 3:9 the man who was born blind.

His friends take the other side and make a great, long talk, defending God's justice, and saying that He punishes no righteous man; if He punishes, then the man who is punished must have sinned. They have a worldly and human idea of God and His righteousness, as though He were like a man and His law were like the world's law.

Job, to be sure, when he is in danger of death, talks, in his human weakness, too much against God, and thus sins amidst his sufferings; nevertheless, he insists that he has not deserved this suffering more than others have; and that is true. But at last God decides that Job, by speaking against Him, has spoken wrongly, in his suffering; but that he spoke the truth in what he said, replying to his friends, about his innocence before the suffering came.

Thus this book leads the history up to this point,—God alone is righteous, and yet one man is more righteous than another, even before God. It is written for our comfort, in order that we may know that God allows even His great saints to stumble, especially in adversity. Before Job comes into fear of death, he praises God at the theft of his goods and the death of his children; but when death is in prospect and God withdraws Himself, his words show what kind of ideas a man, however holy he may be, has against God, when he gets the notion that God is not God, but only a judge and wrathful tyrant, who applies force and cares nothing about a good life. This is the finest part of this book. It is understood only by those who also experience

and feel what it is to suffer the wrath and judgment of God, and to have His grace hidden.

The language of this book is more lofty and splendid than that of any other book in all the Scriptures, and if it were translated everywhere word for word (as the Jews and foolish translators would have it done), and not, for the most part, according to the sense, no one would understand it; as, for example, when he says "The thirsty will drink up his goods," meaning, "Robbers shall take them from him"; or "The children of pride have not gone therein," i.e., "the young lions, that stalk proudly"; and many similar cases. Again, by "light" he means "good fortune," by "darkness," "misfortune," etc.

Therefore, I think that this third part¹ must take its medicine, and the wiseacres must say of it that it is an entirely different book from the Latin Bible. Let them go. We have done our best to use language that is clear and that everybody can understand, giving the genuine sense and meaning. We can allow anyone to improve on it.

PREFACE TO THE PSALTER¹

1531

Many of the holy fathers praised and loved the Psalter above all other books of Scripture; and although the work itself gives praise enough to its master, nevertheless we must give evidence of our own praise and thanks.

In past years very many books have been peddled around, legends of the saints and passionals, books of examples and stories, and the world has been filled with them, so that the Psalter lay, meanwhile, under the bench and in such darkness that not one Psalm was rightly understood; and yet it gave off such a fine and precious fragrance that all pious

hearts felt the devotion and power in the unknown words, and loved the book for them.

I hold, however, that no book of examples or legends of the saints finer than the Psalter has ever come, or can come, ^{The Psalter a Little Bible} to the earth. If one were to wish that, from all the examples, legends and histories, the best should be selected and brought together and put in the best form, the result would have to be the present Psalter. For here we find not only what one or two saints have done, but what He has done who is the head of all saints, and what the saints still do—the attitude they take toward God, toward friends and enemies, the way they conduct themselves in all dangers and sufferings; all this, beside the divine and wholesome and commandments of every kind that are contained there.

The Psalter ought to be a dear and beloved book, if only because it promises Christ's death and resurrection so clearly, and so typifies His kingdom and the condition and nature of all Christendom that it might well be called a little Bible. It puts everything that is in all the Bible most beautifully and briefly, and is made an *Enchiridion*, or hand-book, so that I have a notion that the Holy Ghost wanted to take the trouble to compile a short Bible and example-book of all Christendom, or of all saints. Thus, whoever could not read the whole Bible would here have almost an entire summary of it, comprised in one little book.

But above all this, the Psalter has this fine virtue and quality:—other books make great ado over the works of the saints, but say very little about their words; but the Psalter ^{The Language of the Saints} is a pattern; it gives forth so sweet a fragrance, when one reads it, because it tells not only the works of the saints, but also their words, how they spoke with God and prayed, and still speak and pray. The other legends and examples, when compared to the Psalter, present to us only dumb saints; but the Psalter pictures really bold, living saints.

Compared with a speaking man, a dumb man is to be thought a half-dead man; and there is no mightier or nobler work of man than speech, since it is by speech, more than by

his shape or by any other work, that man is most distinguished from other animals. By the carver's art a block of wood can be given the shape of a man, and a beast, as well as a man, can see, hear, smell, sing, walk, stand, eat, drink, fast, thirst, and suffer from hunger, frost, and a hard bed.

Moreover, the Psalter does still more than this. It presents to us not the simple, common speech of the saints, but the best of their language, that which they used when they talked with God Himself, with great earnestness, on the most important matters. Thus it lays before us, not only their words, rather than their works, but their very hearts and the innermost treasure of their souls, so that we can look down to the foundation and source of their words and works, that is, into their hearts, and see there what kind of thoughts they had, and how their hearts were set and how they acted in all kinds of cases, in danger and in need. The legends, or examples, which speak only of the works and miracles of the saints, do not and cannot do this; for I cannot know how a man's heart is, even though I see or hear of many great works that he does. And just as I would rather hear what a saint says than see the works he does, so I would far rather see his heart, and the treasure in his soul, than hear his words. And that is the richest thing about the saints that the Psalter gives us,—we can be certain of how their hearts were toward God, and what words they used to God and every man.

A human heart is like a ship on a wild sea, driven by the storm-winds from the four quarters of the world. Here it is struck with fear, and worry about coming disaster; there comes grief and sadness because of present evil. Here breathes a breeze of hope and of expectation of happiness to come; there blows security and joy in present blessings. These storm-winds teach us to speak with earnestness, and open the heart, and pour out what lies at the bottom of it. He who sticks in fear and need speaks of misfortune very differently from him who floats on joy; and he who floats on joy speaks and sings of joy quite differently from him who

sticks in fear. It is not from the heart, men say, when a sad man laughs or a glad man weeps; that is, the depths of his heart are not open, and what is in them does not come out.

What is the greatest thing in the Psalter but this earnest speaking amid these storm-winds of every kind? Where does one find such words of joy as in the psalms of praise and thanksgiving? There you look into the hearts of all the saints, as into fair and pleasant gardens, nay, as into heaven, and see what fine and pleasant flowers of the heart spring up from fair and happy thoughts of every kind toward God, because of His benefits. On the other hand, where do you find deeper, more sorrowful, more pitiful words of sadness than in the psalms of lamentation? There again you look into the hearts of all the saints, as into death, nay, as into hell. How gloomy and dark it is there, with all kinds of troubled outlooks on the wrath of God! So, too, when they speak of fear and hope, they use such words that no painter could so depict fear or hope, and no Cicero, or orator, so portray them.

And, as was said, it is the best thing of all that they speak these words to God and with God. This gives the words double earnestness and life, for when men speak with men about these matters, what they say does not come so strongly from the heart, and burn and live and press so greatly. Hence it comes that the Psalter is the book of all saints, and everyone, in whatever case he is, finds in it psalms and words that fit his case and suit him exactly, as though they were put thus for his sake only, so that he could not put it better himself, or find better words, or wish for better. And this, too, is good; for when these words please a man and suit him, he becomes sure that he is in the communion of saints, and that it has gone with all the saints as it goes with him, since they all sing one song with him. It is especially so, if he can speak to God as they have done, which must be done in faith, for their words have no flavor to a godless man.

*The
Saints
Speak
to God*

Finally, there is in the Psalter security and a well-tried

The
Psalter a
Mirror of
Christian
Life

escort, so that one can follow all saints in it without peril. The other examples and the legends of the dumb saints³ bring forward many works that one cannot imitate; but they also bring forward many more works which it is dangerous to imitate, and which commonly start sects and disturbances, and lead away from the communion of saints, and tear it apart. But the Psalter holds you to the communion of saints and away from sects for it teaches you to be of like mind in joy, fear, hope, sorrow, and to think and speak as all the saints have thought and spoken.

In a word, would you see the holy Christian Church painted in living color and form and put in one little picture? Then take up the Psalter and you have a fine, bright, pure mirror that will show you what the Church is; nay, you will find yourself also in it and the true *gnothi seanton*⁴, and God Himself, besides, and all creatures.

Let us see to it, then, that we thank God for these unspeakable blessings, and let us receive them and use them, and exercise ourselves in them to God's praise and honor, lest we earn something worse. Heretofore, in the time of darkness, what a treasure it would have been thought if one were able rightly to understand a Psalm, and to read or hear it in intelligible German; and we did not have that treasure. But now blessed are the eyes that see what we see and the ears that hear what we hear; and yet I fear—nay, sad to say, we see it!—that things are going with us as with the Jews in the wilderness, when they said of the bread from heaven, "Our soul loatheth this poor food." We should remember, however, that alongside of this story stands the story of how they were plagued and died, lest the same thing happen to us.

To this may God, the Father of all grace and mercy help us, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be praise and thanks, honor and glory, for this German Psalter and for all His numberless, unspeakable benefits to all eternity. Amen, Amen.

PREFACE TO THE BOOKS OF SOLOMON

1524

Three books bear the name of Solomon. The first is *Proverbs* *Proverbia*, "Proverbs," which may rightly be called a book of good works, for in it he teaches us how to lead a good life before God and the world.

He pays especial attention to the young people and instructs them, in fatherly fashion, according to God's commandments, with comforting promises of how well it shall go with the good, and with threats of how the wicked will have to be punished. For young people are of themselves inclined to all evil and, besides, because of their inexperience, they do not understand the wiles and wickedness of the world and the devil, and are far too weak to withstand bad examples and causes of offense, and are not able to govern themselves, but if they are not trained they are ruined and lost before they get their bearings.*

Therefore they need and must have teachers and rulers, to exhort, warn, rebuke, and chastise them, to hold them constantly to the fear of God and to His commandments, and to keep off the devil, the world, and the flesh. This, then, is what Solomon does diligently and richly, in this book, putting his doctrine into proverbs, so that it can be grasped the more easily and kept the more gladly. Any man who intends to become righteous might well take this book as a hand-book, or prayer-book, for daily use, and read it often, and see his own life in it.

For a man must go one of two ways—he must either let his father chastise him or let the executioner punish him; as they say, "You may escape me, but not the hangman"; and it would be good to impress this constantly on the young people, so that they might know without doubt that they must suffer either the father's rod, or the executioner's sword, just as Solomon, in this book, is constantly threatening the disobedient with death. There is no way out of it;

God leaves nothing unpunished. We see in our own experience that disobedient knaves perish in strange ways, and finally get into the headman's hands when they least expect it and feel most secure. Public witnesses and signs of all this are the gallows, wheels,⁷ and places of execution at the gates of all the cities. God, through the temporal government, has put them there to terrify all those who will not let themselves be trained by God's Word into obedience to their elders.

Therefore in this book Solomon calls all those who despise God's Word "fools," and all those who keep God's commandments "wise." This does not hit the young people only, though his chief purpose is to teach them, but people of all stations, from the highest to the lowest. For just as youth has its own vices, against God's commandments, so every other station has its own vices, and they are worse than the vices of youth. So the proverb says, "The older, the worse"; and again, "Age helps no folly."

Even if there were nothing evil in the higher stations, no such vices as greed, pride, hatred, envy, etc., nevertheless this one vice would be bad enough, namely, that they want to be shrewd and wise when they ought not to be, and everybody is inclined to do something else than what is committed to him, and to leave undone that which is committed to him. For example, a man in the spiritual office wants to be wise and active in worldly things, and there is no end to his knowledge of them; on the other hand, a man in worldly office has a head too small to hold all his superfluous knowledge about the conduct of the spiritual office. .

Of such fools all lands, all cities, all houses are full, and in this book they are diligently rebuked, and everyone is exhorted to mind his own business and to do faithfully and diligently the duty that is committed to him. Such people are called wise men; the disobedient are called fools, though they do not want to be, or be called, either disobedient men or fools.

The second book is called *Kohaleth*; we call it "The ^{Eccle-}Preacher." It is a book of comfort. When a man would ^{siastes} live an obedient life, according to the teaching of the first book,^s and attend to his duty or office, then the devil, the world, and his own flesh block the way against him, so that he becomes weary and disgusted with his duty, and is sorry for everything that he has begun; for things will not go as he wants them to. Then arise worry, labor, disgust, impatience, and murmuring, and a man is ready to let go hand and foot, and do nothing more. For if the devil cannot prevent obedience on the right hand, by means of curiosity and desire, he will hinder it on the left hand with worry and vexation.

Now as Solomon, in the first book, teaches obedience in the face of mad lust and curiosity, so in this book he teaches that men are to be patient and steadfast in obedience, in the face of unpleasantness and temptation, and are constantly to do the duty of the hour with peace and joy. What they cannot keep or alter, they are to let go; they will be well off.

The third book is a song of praise, in which Solomon ^{Song of} praises God for obedience, as for a gift of God. For where ^{Songs} God is not the householder and ruler, there is neither obedience nor peace in any station of life; but where there is obedience and good rule, there God dwells, and kisses and embraces His dear bride with His Word, which is the kiss of His lips. Therefore, when things, in the land or the home, go, so far as possible, according to the first two books; then one may well sing this third book, and thank God, who has not only taught us this, but has Himself done it. Amen.

PREFACE TO THE PROVERBS OF SOLOMON

1524

Because this book deals especially with fools and wise men and everywhere praises wisdom and rebukes folly, it is necessary to consider its language and its words, to see what he

means by fools and wise men. Therefore, in order that this profitable book may be the plainer, I shall here sketch this out in a few words, as clearly as I can.

It is the way of King David, in the Psalter, and especially of King Solomon (and perhaps it was the manner of speaking in their time) to give the name of fool⁹ not to those whom the world calls fools, or who are born fools, but to all kinds of loose, frivolous, heedless people, most of all to those who live without God's Word and act and speak according to their own reason or purposes; though usually these are, before the world, the greatest, wisest, mightiest, richest, and holiest. Thus Paul calls the Galatians, and Christ the Pharisees, and even His own disciples, fools, so that you may know that when Solomon speaks of fools, he is speaking not of plain or insignificant people, but of the greatest people in the world.

That which Solomon here calls wisdom is nothing else than the wisdom of God, which is taught in God's words and works; therefore he is constantly citing God's commandments and works. Besides, no proverbs have their origin anywhere else than in God's words and works, since all human proposals are vain and deceptive, and nothing comes out of them except what God wills and does; as we say in German, *Es ist dir bedacht, aber nicht bescheret*,¹⁰ and *Wer das Glück hat, führt die Braut heim*.¹¹ These and like proverbs come from the fact that men have to see and learn that men's proposals and hopes constantly fail and turn out otherwise than they intend, and they have at last to observe that another turns the wheel. Some, then, have called this Other God, some Fate. Accordingly the proverbs in all tongues and languages are sure and certain, since they are founded on God's works and come out of God's works, even though God's Word is not there. On the other hand, by folly he means nothing else than what takes place without God's Word and works. A wise man is one who guides himself by God's Word and works; a fool one who presumptuously guides himself by his own mind and notions.

From this we see what a splendid, wise, and fine man King Solomon was. He took things so seriously that amid so many royal duties, he undertook to be a teacher, and especially a teacher of the most necessary thing of all, teaching and training the young people how they should act blessedly before God according to the spirit, and wisely before the world with body and goods. For this is the most important thing that men can have on earth, as King Solomon saw very well; and they cannot have it unless they are trained in youth. This book, therefore, ought early be impressed on the young people throughout the world and put into daily use and practice; undoubtedly it was for this purpose that it was made and written by King Solomon, as an example to all kings and lords to take an interest in the young people. To this may God give His grace. Amen.

PREFACE TO THE PREACHER OF SOLOMON

1524

This book is called in Hebrew *Kohleth*, that is, "one who speaks publicly in a congregation"; for *Kahal* means a congregation gathered together, what is called in Greek *ekklesia*. But this book was certainly not written or set down by King Solomon with his own hand; but what others heard from his lips was put together in this form by the scholars, as they admit at the end, when they say, "These words of the wise Ecd. are as spears and nails, fixed by the masters of the congregation and given from one shepherd." That is to say, certain persons, selected by the kings and the people, were appointed, at that time, to fix and arrange this and other books, handed down by Solomon, so that thus everyone would not have to make books as he pleased; for they lament in the Ecd. same place that "of making books there is no end," and 12: 12 forbid others to take up the work.

These men here call themselves "masters of the congregation," and books had to be accepted and approved by their hands and their office. For the Jewish people had an external government, instituted by God, and such a thing as that could be done surely and rightly. This book, too, is put together by others out of the sayings of Solomon, and the doctrine and sayings of some wise men are added at the end. The Song of Solomon, too, has the appearance of a book composed by others out of things received from the lips of Solomon. Therefore, no order is preserved in these books, but one thing is mixed with another, since they did not hear all of it from him at one time; and this has to be the nature of such books.

Now this book ought really have the title, "Against the Free Will"; for all of it tends to show that all men's counsels, proposals, and undertakings are vain and fruitless and always have a different end from that which we want and expect. Thus he would teach us to be passive and let God alone do everything, above and against and without our knowledge and counsel. Therefore you must not understand this book to be abusing God's creatures when it says, "All is vanity and misery"; for God's creatures are all good (Genesis i and II Timothy iv), and this book itself says that one shall be happy with one's wife and enjoy life, etc. It teaches, rather, that the proposals and purposes of men for dealing with creatures all go wrong and are all in vain, if one is not satisfied with what is ready to hand, but wants to be master and ruler of things that are yet to come. In that case, everything goes backwards," and a man has had only his trouble for his pains, and things turn out, anyhow, as God wills and purposes, not as man wills and purposes. To put it briefly, Christ says, in Matthew vi, "Be not anxious about the morrow, for the morrow will have its own anxiety; it is enough that every day has its own evil." That saying is a gloss and table of contents for this book. Anxiety for us is God's affair; our anxiety goes wrong anyhow, and is only lost trouble.

Gen. 1: 31

II Tim.

4 4

Ecccl. 9: 9

Matt.

6: 34

PREFACE TO THE PROPHETS

1532

To human reason the prophets seem of small account, and little of value is found in them. This is especially so when Master Wisehead comes along. He knows the Scriptures by heart and has them at his finger-tips, and out of the riches of his spirit, he regards the writings of the prophets as mere worthless, dead talk. That is why the lives and works of the prophets are no longer noticed, and only their words and histories are heard. This is no wonder, when God's Word, too, is despised, even though the signs and events, and the kingdom of Christ, as well, are daily before men's eyes; and how much more would it be despised, if the stories and the deeds were no longer extant. Just so the children of Israel despised God and His Word when they had before their eyes the manna, the fiery pillar and the bright cloud, and the priesthood and the principedom.

Therefore we Christians ought not be such shameful, ^{They} sated, ungrateful wiseacres, but should read and use the ^{Proclaim} prophets with earnestness and profit. For, first of all, they ^{the King-} proclaim and bear witness to the kingdom of Christ, in which ^{dom of} Christ we now live, and in which all believers in Christ have heretofore lived and will live until the end of the world.

It is strong encouragement and encouraging strength to have for our Christian life such mighty and ancient witnesses by whom our Christian faith is greatly encouraged in the belief that it is the right station in the eyes of God, in contrast with all other wrong, false, human holiness and with the sects, which are a source of great offence and temptation to a weak heart, because of the great show that they make and of the multitude of their adherents, and, on the other hand, because of the Cross and of the small number of those who hold to the Christian faith. So, in our days, the hordes of the Turk, the pope, and others are great and powerful causes of offence.

For this, then, the prophets are useful to us; as St. Peter
 I Pet. 1: 11, 12 claims, in I Peter, that it was not unto themselves that the prophets made known the things that were revealed to them, but to us, "to us," he says, "they made them known." For they have thus "ministered to us," with their prophesying, in order that he who would be in Christ's kingdom might know that he must first suffer many things before he comes to glory, and that he must govern himself accordingly. By
 Luke 24: 26 this we become sure of two things: first, that the great glory of Christ's kingdom is surely ours, and will come hereafter; and second, that it is preceded by crosses, shame, misery, contempt, and all kinds of suffering for Christ's sake. Thus we shall not become disheartened through impatience or unbelief, or doubt the future glory, which will be so great that the angels desire to see it.

**They
Illustrate
the First
Com-
mandment**

In the second place, they show us many great examples and experiences illustrating the First Commandment, and it is portrayed in masterly fashion, in both words and illustrations, so as to drive us powerfully to fear of God and faith, and to keep us in them. For after they have prophesied of Christ's kingdom, all the rest is nothing but illustration of how God has so strictly and severely confirmed the First Commandment, and to read or hear the prophets is surely nothing else than to read and hear God's threats and comforts. God threatens the godless, who are careless and proud, and if threatening does not help, He enforces it with penalties pestilence, famine, war, until they are destroyed; thus He makes good the threat of the First Commandment. But He comforts those who fear God and are in all sorts of need, and enforces His comfort with aid and counsel, by all kinds of wonders and signs, against all the might of the devil and the world: thus He also makes good the comfort of the First Commandment.

With such sermons and illustrations the prophets minister richly to us, teaching us that we need not be offended when we see how carelessly and proudly the godless despise God's Word, and pay no heed to His threatenings, as though

God were a mere nothing; for in the prophets we see that things have never turned out well for any man who has despised God's threatening, even though they were the mightiest emperors and kings and the holiest and most learned people on whom the sun ever shone. On the other hand, we see that no one has been deserted who has dared to rely upon God's comforts and promises, even though they were the most miserable and the poorest sinners and beggars that were ever on the earth, nay, even though it were a slain Abel and a swallowed Jonah. By this the prophets prove to us that God keeps to His First Commandment, and wills to be a gracious Father to the poor and believing, and that for Him no one is to be too small or too despised; on the other hand He wills to be an angry Judge to the godless and the proud, and no one is to be too great, too mighty, too wise, too holy for Him, whether it be emperor, pope, Turk, and the devil beside.

For this reason it is, in our days, profitable and necessary to read the prophets, so that, by these illustrations and sermons we may be strengthened and encouraged against the unspeakable, innumerable, and (if God will) the final causes of offence given by the damned world. How completely the Turk holds our Lord Jesus Christ and His Kingdom for a mere nothing, compared with himself and his Mohammed! How greatly the poor Gospel and God's Word are despised, both among us and under the papacy, compared with the glorious show and riches of human commandments and holiness! How carelessly the fanatics, the Epicureans,²² and others like them walk in their own opinions, contrary to Holy Scripture! What an utterly audacious, wild life everyone now lives, following his own self-will, contrary to the clear truth, now as plain as day! It seems as though neither God nor Christ were anything; still less does it seem that God's First Commandment was so strict!

But they say, "Wait a bit, wait a bit! Suppose the prophets are lying, and deceiving us with their histories and sermons!" More kings than they, and mightier, yes, and worse

knives than they, have gone to destruction; and these will not escape. Needier and more wretched people, too, have been gloriously helped; and we shall not be deserted. They are not the first to be defiant and boastful, and we are not the first who have suffered and been tormented. See, it is thus that we make the prophets useful to ourselves; read in this way, the reading of them is fruitful.

To be sure, there is in them more of threatening and rebuke than of encouragement and promise, and it is good to observe the reason. The godless are always more in number than the righteous; therefore one must always be more insistent on the law than on the promises. Even without the promises, the godless feel secure, and they are most agile in applying the divine encouragements and promises to themselves and the threats and rebukes to others, and they do not let themselves be turned, by any means, from this perverted notion and false hope. For their motto is *Pax et securitas*, "There is no need!" They stick to that, and go with it to destruction, as St. Paul says, "Destruction cometh upon them suddenly."

I Thess.
5: 3

Idolatry
among
the Jews

Again, since the prophets cry out most of all against idolatry, it is necessary to know the form which this idolatry had; for in our time, under the papacy, many people flatter themselves pleasantly and think that they are no such idolaters as the children of Israel. For this reason, then, they do not think highly of the prophets, especially of this part of them, because the rebukes upon idolatry do not concern them at all. They are far too pure and holy to commit idolatry, and it would be laughable for them to be afraid or terrified because of threats and denunciations against idolatry. That is just what the people of Israel also did. They simply would not believe that they were idolatrous, and therefore the threatenings of the prophets had to be lies, and they themselves had to be condemned as heretics. The children of Israel were not such mad saints as to worship plain wood and stone, especially the kings, princes, priests, and prophets, though they were the most idolatrous of all; but their idol-

atry consisted in letting go of the worship which God had instituted and ordered at Jerusalem, and where else God would have it, and improving on it, establishing it and setting it up elsewhere, according to their own ideas and opinions, without God's command, and inventing new forms and persons and times for it, though Moses had strictly forbidden this, especially in Deuteronomy xii, and pointed them to the place that God had chosen for His tabernacle and dwelling-place. This false worship was their idolatry, and they thought it a fine and precious thing, and relied upon it as though they had done well in performing it, though it was sheer disobedience and apostasy from God and His commands. Deut 12: 4, 8

Thus we read in III Kings xii, not simply that Jeroboam set up the two calves, but had it preached to the people besides, "Ye shall no more go up to Jerusalem; lo, here, Israel, is thy God, who led thee out of Egypt." He does not say, "Lo, here, Israel, is a calf," but "Here is thy God who led thee out of Egypt." He confesses freely that the God of Israel is the true God and that he led them out of Egypt; but men are not to run to Jerusalem after Him, but rather to find Him here at Dan and Beersheba, where the golden calves are. The meaning is:—One can sacrifice to God and worship Him as well before the golden calves as before a holy symbol of God, for so men sacrificed to Him and worshiped Him before the golden ark. Lo, that is deserting the worship of God at Jerusalem, and thereby denying God, who has commanded that worship, as though He had not commanded it. I Kings 12: 28

So they built on their own works and devotion and not purely and alone on God. With this devotion they afterwards filled the land with idolatry; on all the hills, in all the valleys, under all the trees they sacrificed and burned incense, and all this had to be called serving the God of Israel; he who said otherwise was a heretic and false prophet. That is the real committing of idolatry, — undertaking to worship God, without God's bidding, out of one's own devotion; for He will not have us teach Him how He is to be served. He

wills to teach us and to prescribe His worship; His Word is to be there and it shall give us light and leading. Without His Word it is all idolatry and lies, however devout it seems, and however beautiful it seeks to be. Of this we have often written.

**Idolatry
among
Christians**

From this it follows that among us Christians all those men are idolatrous, and the prophets' denunciations apply to them, who have invented or still keep new ways to worship God without God's order and commandment, out of their own devotion, and, as they say, with good intentions. For by this they surely put their reliance on works that they themselves have chosen and not simply and solely on Jesus Christ. In the prophets these people are called adulteresses, who are not content with their own husband, Jesus Christ, but run after other men, as though Christ alone could not help, without us and our works, or as though He alone had not redeemed us, but we must also do something toward it. And yet we know very well that we did nothing toward having Him die on the Cross, taking our sins upon Him and bearing them on the Cross, not only before the whole world could think of any such thing, but before we were born. Just as little, and even less, did the children of Israel do toward bringing the plagues upon Egypt and Pharaoh and setting themselves free through the death of the first-born of Egypt. God did this alone, and they did nothing at all toward it.

"Nay," say they, "the children of Israel served idols with their worship, and not the true God, but we serve in our churches the true God and the one Lord Jesus Christ, for we know no idols." I answer: That is what the children of Israel also said. All of them declared that their worship was given to the true God, and even less than our clergy would they permit anyone to call it the serving of idols. On this account they killed and persecuted all the true prophets; for they, too, would know nothing of idols, as the histories tell us.

**Judges
17: 1ff**

For thus we read in Judges xvii, that the mother of Micah, when he had taken from her the eleven hundred

pieces of silver, and returned them, said to him, "Blessed be my son from the Lord. I vowed this silver to the Lord, that my son shall take the silver and have a graven image made of it, etc." Here one learns clearly and certainly that the mother is thinking of the true God, to whom she has vowed the silver, to have a graven image made of it. She does not say, "I have vowed the silver to an idol," but "to the Lord," which name is known among all Jews as the name of the one true God. The Turk also does the same thing; he names the true God in His worship and means Him who created heaven and earth. Likewise do the Jews, Tartars, and now all unbelievers. Nevertheless, it is all sheer idolatry.

Again how strange was the fall of that wonderful man Gideon! To the children of Israel, who desired that he and his children should rule over them, he said, "I will not be your lord, nor will my children, but the Lord (that is, the true God) shall be your lord." And yet he took the jewels that they gave him and made of them, not an image or an altar, but a priest's-garment,⁴ and out of devotion, he wanted to have a worshiping of God in his own city. But the Scripture says that all Israel committed harlotry with it, and this house went to destruction because of it. Now this great and holy man was not thinking of any idol, but of the one true God, as his spirited words bear witness, when he says, "The Lord shall rule over you, not I." By these words he plainly gives honor to God alone and confesses only the true God and will have Him held as God and Lord. So, too, we heard above that Jeroboam does not call his golden calves idols, but the God of Israel, who has led them out of Egypt; and this was the only true God, for no idol had led them out of Egypt. Nor was it his intention to worship idols, but because he feared (as the text says) that the people would fall away from him to the King of Judah, if they were to go to Jerusalem, according to custom, to worship God, he invented a worship of his own, by which he held them to him, and yet intended by it to worship the true God, who dwelt at Jeru-

Judges
8: 22ff

I Kings
12: 27

salem; but it was not to be necessary to worship God in Jerusalem only.

Why many words? God Himself confesses that the children of Israel intended to worship, not an idol, but Him alone; for He says, in Hosea ii, "At that day, saith the Lord, thou shalt call me 'My husband' and call me no more 'My master'." For I will take the name of the Baalim out of her mouth, so that one shall no more remember this name of Baalim." Here one must confess it true that the children of Israel intended to worship no idol, but the one true God. God says plainly, here in Hosea, "Thou shalt call me no more 'My Baal'." Now the worship of Baal was the greatest, commonest, and most glorious worship in the people of Israel, and yet it was utter idolatry, despite the fact that by it they intended to worship the true God.

Therefore it helps our clergy not at all to allege that in their churches and chapters they serve no idol, but only God, the true Lord. For here you learn that it is not enough to say or think, 'I am doing it to God's glory; I mean it for the true God; I will serve the only God.' All idolaters say and intend that. Intentions and thoughts do not count, or those who martyred the apostles and the Christians would also have been God's servants, for they, too, thought that they were doing God service, as Christ says in John xvi; and Paul in Romans x, testifies for the Jews that they are zealous for God, and says in Acts xxvi, that by serving God night and day they hope to come to the promised salvation.

On the contrary, let everyone have a care to be sure that his service of God is instituted by God's Word, and not invented out of his own devotion or good intention. One who is accustomed to serve God in ways that have no testimony of God for them ought to know that he is serving, not the true God, but an idol that he has imagined for himself, that is to say, he is serving his own notions and false ideas, and thereby is serving the devil himself, and the words of all the prophets are against him. For this God, who would let us establish worship for Him according to our own choice

and devotion, without His command and Word,—this God is nowhere; but there is only one God, who, through His Word, has abundantly established and commanded all the stations and the services in which it is His will to be served.

We should abide by this and not turn aside from it either to right or left; do neither more nor less; make it neither worse nor better. Otherwise there will be no end of idolatry and it will be impossible to distinguish between true worship and idolatry, since all have the true God in mind, and all use His true Name.

To this one and only God be thanks and praise, through Jesus Christ, His Son, our Lord blessed forever. Amen.

PREFACE TO THE PROPHET ISAIAH

1528

If anyone will read the holy prophet Isaiah with profit and thus understand him the better, let him not despise this advice and instruction of mine, unless he has better advice and is better informed. In the first place, let him not skip the title, or beginning, of this book, but learn to understand it as thoroughly as possible, so that he may not think that he understands Isaiah well, and afterwards have to put up with it when someone says that he has never understood the title and first line, let alone the whole prophet. For this title is to be considered almost a gloss^{Is. 1:1} and a light on the whole book, and Isaiah himself points his readers to it, as though with his fingers, as the occasion and reason for his book. But to him who despises or does not understand the title, I say that he shall let the prophet Isaiah alone or, at least, that he will not understand him thoroughly, for it is impossible to gather or observe the prophet's writing and meaning rightly and clearly, without a thorough understanding of the title.

When I speak of the title, I do not mean only that you

The Significance of the Introduction

read or understand the words "Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Kings of Judah"; but that you take up the last book of Kings and the last book of Chronicles, and take in the whole contents of them, especially the stories, speeches, and events that occurred under the kings named in the title, clear to the end of those books. For if one would understand the prediction, it is necessary that one know how things were in the land, how matters lay, what was in the mind of the people, and what kind of intentions they had for or against their neighbors, friends and enemies; and especially what attitude they took, in their land, to God and the prophet, toward His Word and His service.

Lands
Surround-
ing Israel
and
Judah

It would be will, also, to know how the lands were situated with reference to one another, so that the strange, unfamiliar words and names might not make reading disagreeable and understanding dark and hard. To do my simple Germans a service, I shall briefly describe the country situated about Jerusalem or Judah, where Isaiah lived and preached, so that they may better see whither the prophet turned when he prophesied toward "noon-day" or "midnight."¹⁸

On the East, the nearest thing to Jerusalem, or Judah, is the Dead Sea, where, in ancient days, Sodom and Gomorrah stood. Beyond the Dead Sea lies the land of Moab and of the children of Ammon. Farther beyond lies Babylon, or Chaldæa, and farther still the land of the Persians, of which Isaiah speaks much.

Toward the North, lies Mount Lebanon and, across it, Damascus and Syria, but farther on, and to the East, lies Assyria with which Isaiah deals much.

Toward the West, along the Great Sea, lie the Philistines, the worst enemies of the Jews; and along the Sea, to the North, lie Sidon and Tyre, which border on Galilee.

Toward the South are many lands,—Egypt, the land of the Moors, the Red Sea, Edom, and Midian, so situated that Egypt lies to the West of the middle.

These are the lands and the names about which Isaiah

prophecies as neighbors, enemies, and friends, surrounding the land of Judah like wolves around a sheepfold. With some of them they made alliance after alliance, but it helped them not at all.

After this, you must divide the prophet Isaiah into three parts. In the first he deals, like the other prophets, with two subjects. First, he preaches to his people and rebukes their many sins, especially the manifold idolatry which has got the upper hand among the people,—as godly preachers, now and at all times, do and must do,—and keeps them in check with threats of punishment and promises of good.

Second, he disposes and prepares them to expect the coming Kingdom of Christ, of which he prophesies more clearly and more often than does any other prophet. He even describes, in Chapter vii, the Mother of Christ, how she is to conceive and bear Him without injury to her virginity, and in Chapter liii, His Passion together with His Resurrection from the dead. He proclaims His kingdom powerfully and in plain language, as though it had then come. This must have been a splendid, highly enlightened prophet. For all the prophets do the same thing; they teach and rebuke the people of their time, and they proclaim the coming and the Kingdom of Christ and direct and point the people to Him, as to the Saviour both of those who have gone before and of those who are to come; but one of them does this more than another, one more fully than another; among them all, however, Isaiah does the most and is the fullest.

In the second part, he has to do especially with the empire of Assyria and the Emperor Sennacherib. He prophesies more and at greater length than any other prophet about how the emperor shall subdue all neighboring lands, including the kingdom of Israel, and impose much misfortune on the kingdom of Judah. But there he stands like a rock, with the promise Jerusalem shall be defended and be saved from him; and that is one of the greatest miracles in the Scripture, not only because of the event, that so mighty an emperor should be defeated before Jerusalem, but also because of the faith,

What the
Prophet
Isaiah
Treats

1. His
Preaching

2. The
Kingdom
of Christ
Isa. 7: 14

Isa. 53

3. Assyria

with which men believed it. It is a miracle, I say, that any one at Jerusalem could have believed in such an impossible thing. Isaiah must, without doubt, have heard many bad words from the unbelievers. But he did it; he defeated the emperor and defended the city. He must have stood well with God and been a precious man in His sight!

4. **Babylon** In the third part, he deals with the empire of Babylon. Here he prophesies of the Babylonian Captivity, with which the people are to be punished, and of the destruction of Jerusalem by the emperor of Babylon. And it is here that he does his greatest work, encouraging and upholding a people yet to come amid this future destruction and captivity, so that they might not believe that all was over with them, that Christ's kingdom would not come, and that prophecy was false and vain. What a rich and full preaching he presents!—Babylon, in its turn, will be destroyed, and the Jews be released and return to Jerusalem. He even tells, with proud defiance of Babylon, the names of the kings that shall destroy it, namely, the Medes and Elamites, or Persians; and he expressly mentions the king who shall release the Jews and help them back to Jerusalem, namely, Cyrus, whom he calls "God's anointed," long before there is a kingdom in Persia. For he is concerned altogether with Christ, that His future coming and the promised kingdom of grace and salvation shall not be despised, or be lost upon His people and be of no use to them, because of unbelief or great misfortune and impatience; and this would be the case, unless they expected it and believed surely that it would come. These are the three things that Isaiah deals with.

The Order of the Prophecies He does not treat them in order, however, and give each of these subjects its own place and put it into its own chapters and pages; but they are so mixed up together that much of the first matter is brought in along with the second and third, and the third subject is discussed somewhat earlier than the second. But whether this was done by those who collected and wrote down the prophecies (as is thought to have happened with the Psalter), or whether he himself ar-

ranged it this way according as time, occasion, and persons suggested, and these times and occasions were not always alike, and had no order,—this I do not know. He has at least this much order,—he brings in and deals with the first and most important subject, from beginning to end, all the way through the second and third parts; and that is what we ought also do in our sermons, always running along with the other things our most important matter, viz., the rebuking of the people and the preaching of Christ, even though we may now and then undertake, as occasion arises, to preach of other things, such as the Turk or the emperor, etc.

Remembering this, anyone can readily comprehend the prophet and be at home in him, and not be led astray or become impatient because of the order of the prophecies, as it happens to those who are not accustomed to it. We have done our best to make Isaiah speak good, clear German, though he has accommodated himself to it with difficulty and done his best to prevent it. Those who know both German and Hebrew well, will easily see that, especially the hair-splitters,³⁹ who persuade themselves that they know everything; and there are enough words of threatening and terror against the stubborn, proud, hard-heads,—if that would help. What profit there may be in reading Isaiah, I prefer to let the reader discover for himself, rather than tell him; and for one who does not, or will not, discover it for himself, there is not much profit to speak about. He is full of living, encouraging, heartening sayings for all poor consciences and miserable, disturbed hearts; and there are enough words of threatening and terror against the stubborn, proud, hard-heads; if that will help.

You should not think of Isaiah, except as a man who was despised among the Jews and considered a fool and mad-man. For they did not regard him as we now regard him, but, as he himself testifies, in chapter lviii, they shot out **Is. 57:4** their tongues and pointed their fingers at him and held his preaching as foolishness, all except a few godly children in the crowd, such as King Hezekiah. For it was the habit of

the people to mock the prophets and hold them madmen; and this has happened to all servants of God and preachers; it happens every day and will continue.

It is also to be observed that the thing for which he most rebukes the people is idolatry. The other vices, such as display, drunkenness, avarice, he touches on hardly thrice, but reliance on their own self-chosen idol-worship and their own works, or their confidence in kings and alliances, he rebukes all the way through. This was intolerable to the people, for they wanted such conduct to be right. Therefore they are said, at last, through King Manasseh, to have slain him as a heretic and deceiver and, as the Jews say, to have sawn him asunder."

PREFACE TO THE PROPHET JEREMIAH

1532

Few comments are needed for an understanding of the prophet Jeremiah, if one will only have regard to the events that took place under the kings in whose time he preached. For his preaching had reference to the condition of the land at that time.

In the first place, the land was full of vices and idolatry; they slew the prophets and would have their own vices and idolatry go unrebuked. Therefore, the first part, down to the twentieth chapter, is almost entirely rebuke and complaint of the wickedness of the Jews.

**The
Captivity**

In the second place, he also foretold the punishment that was at hand; namely, the destruction of Jerusalem and of the whole land, and the Babylonian Captivity, and the punishment of all the nations also. Yet, along with this, he gives encouragement, and promises that at a definite time, after the punishment is over, they shall be released and return into the land and to Jerusalem.

This subject is the most important that is in Jeremiah,

for on account of it Jeremiah was raised up, as is indicated in the first chapter by the vision of the rod and the seething caldrons that came from the North.

Jer. 1: 11ff

And this was highly necessary; for since this cruel misfortune was to come upon the people, and they were to be torn asunder and carried away out of their land, many pious souls, such as Daniel and others, would have been driven to despair of God and all His promises, because they would not have been able to think otherwise than that it was all over with them and they were utterly cast off by God, that no Christ would ever come, but that God, in great anger, had taken back His promise because of the people's sin. Therefore Jeremiah had to be there and proclaim the punishment and the wrath, telling them that it would not last forever, but for a fixed time, such as seventy years, and that afterwards they would come again into grace.

With this promise he had also to encourage and sustain himself, or he would have had little comfort and happiness. For he was a sad and troubled prophet and lived in miserably evil days. He had a peculiarly hard ministry, besides, for through more than forty years, down to his imprisonment, he had to say hard things to obstinately wicked people, and do little good, but rather look on while they went from bad to worse; they wanted to kill him, and they put much hardship upon him.

Beside that, he had to live through it, and see it with his own eyes, when the land was destroyed and the people led captive, and there was great misery and bloodshed. And this does not include what he had, afterwards, to preach and suffer in Egypt, for it is believed that he was stoned to death by the Jews in Egypt.²¹

In the third place, like all the other prophets, he prophesies of Christ and His kingdom, especially in the twenty-third and thirty-first chapters, where he clearly prophesies of the person of Christ, of His kingdom, of the new testament and the end of the old testament. But these three subjects do not follow one another and are not separated in the book

Prophecies
of Christ

in the way that they actually came along. Upon the first subject, indeed, there is often something in a later chapter which happened before that which is spoken of in an earlier chapter, and so it seems as though Jeremiah had not composed these books himself, but that parts of his utterances were taken and written into the book. Therefore one must not care about the order, or be hindered by the lack of it.

The Lesson of Jeremiah

We learn from Jeremiah, however, among other things, that, as usual, the nearer the punishment is, the worse the people become, and the more one preaches to them, the more they despise his preaching. Thus we understand that when it is God's will to inflict punishment, He lets people become hardened, so that they may be destroyed without any mercy and not appease God's wrath with any repentance. So formerly the men of Sodom not only despised righteous Lot, but even plagued him, when he taught them; and yet their own plague was at the door: Pharaoh when about to be drowned in the Red Sea, had to afflict the children of Israel twice as much as before: and Jerusalem had to crucify God's Son, when its own final destruction was on the way.

Gen. 19

Exod.
1: 8ff

So it now goes everywhere. Now that the end of the world is approaching the people rage and rave most horribly against God, and blaspheme and damn God's Word, though they well know that it is God's Word and the truth. Besides, so many fearful signs and wonders²³ are appearing, in the heavens and among all creatures, which threaten them terribly, and it is a wicked, miserable time, even worse than that of Jeremiah.

But so it will be, and must be. They will be careless, and sing, "*Pax* There is no need!"²⁴ and only persecute everything that accords with the will of God, and all the threats of the signs will be wasted, until (as St. Paul says) their ruin overtakes them suddenly and destroys them before they are aware of it.

I Thess.
5: 3

But Christ will know how to keep His own, for whose sake He lets His Word shine forth in this shameful time, as He kept at Babylon Daniel and those like him, for whose

sake Jeremiah's prophecy had to shine forth. To the same dear Lord be praise and thanks, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God over all, to eternity. Amen.

PREFACE TO THE PROPHET EZEKIEL

1532

Ezekiel, like Daniel and many more, went willingly into captivity at Babylon, along with King Jeconiah, according to the counsel of Jeremiah, who constantly advised that they submit to the king of Babylon and live, and not resist, or they would be destroyed (Jeremiah xxi).

Jer. 21:8

Then, when they had come to Babylon (as Jeremiah shows in Chapter xxiv, with his kind words of encouragement), they became impatient and were sorry beyond measure that they had submitted, since they saw that those who had stayed in Jerusalem, and not surrendered, had possession of the city and everything, and hoped to make Jeremiah a liar and defend themselves against the king of Babylon, and remain in the land.

Jer. 24:6

The false prophets helped, encouraging the people at Jerusalem to think that Jerusalem would not be captured and that Jeremiah was a lying heretic. Along with this went the usual circumstance, that those at Jerusalem claimed that they were holding honestly and firmly to God and Fatherland, but that the others had submitted, and deserted God and Fatherland, and were faithless traitors, who could not trust or hope in God, and went over to their enemies because of the vile talking of Jeremiah, the liar. That hurt and embittered those who had submitted to Babylon and their captivity became a double one. O how many a sound curse must they have wished on Jeremiah, whom they had followed and who had led them astray so miserably!

Therefore, God raised up in Babylon this prophet Ezekiel to encourage the captives and prophesy against the false

prophets at Jerusalem and confirm the word of Jeremiah. This he does thoroughly, and prophesies far harder and far more than Jeremiah of how Jerusalem shall be destroyed and the people perish, with king and princes; but along with this, he promises that they shall return home to the land of Judah. This is the most important thing that Ezekiel did in his own time, and he deals with this down to chapter xxv.

After that, down to chapter xxxiv, he extends his prophecy to all the lands round about, which the king of Babylon was to afflict. Then follow four chapters on the spirit and kingdom of Christ, and after that on the last tyrant in Christ's kingdom, Gog and Magog. At the end he rebuilds Jerusalem, encouraging the people to believe that they shall go home again; but in the Spirit he means the eternal city, the heavenly Jerusalem, of which the Apocalypse also speaks.

A NEW PREFACE TO THE PROPHET EZEKIEL

1545

St. Jerome and others write that it was, and still is, forbidden among the Jews for any man under thirty years of age to read the first and last parts of the Prophet Ezekiel and the first chapter of the First Book of Moses.²⁴ To be sure, there was no need of this prohibition among the Jews, for Isaiah xxix prophesies that the entire Holy Scripture is sealed and closed to the unbelieving Jews; as St. Paul also says, in II Corinthians iii, that the veil of Moses remains over the Scripture, so long as they do not believe in Christ.

Isa. 29:
11, 12
II Cor.
3: 15

Their works prove that too; for they rend and torture the Scriptures in their interpretation of them, like filthy swine wallowing and rolling in a pleasure-garden, so that it would be desirable if they were to stay unentangled with the Scripture, though many of our own people cling so tight to the rabbis and have such confidence in them, that they judaize more than the ancient Jews themselves.

This vision in the first part of Ezekiel, however, is nothing else, as I understand it (let another improve on it!) than a revelation of the kingdom of Christ in faith, here on earth, in all four quarters of the whole world, according to Psalm xix, *In omnem terram*. For no one can be a prophet, as St. Peter testifies, unless he have the Spirit of Christ. But to give an interpretation of all of it is too long a matter for an introduction. To put it briefly: This vision is the spiritual chariot of Christ in which He rides here in the world, that is, His entire holy Church. There are the four beasts, which he calls, in chapter x, "Cherubim," for He sits, rides and travels on cherubim, as the Scripture often declares; each has four faces and they stand like four horses in a square, yet inside and between the wheels. For there are also four wheels in a square about the beasts, by each beast a wheel, so arranged that they can go to the four quarters of the world, that is, in front, behind, to both sides, without needing to turn.

Likewise the living creatures go, on round feet, toward the four quarters of the world and need not turn. Here is no axle, pole, frame, pin, rack, wagon, rope, or trace, but the Scripture drives it all surely from within. Above is heaven, like a saddle-cloth, and in it a throne for a saddle, and on it God, that is, Christ, sits.

The four wheels go alike, for all churches in the four corners of the earth, that is, in the whole world, have an equal, single, harmonious gait, in faith, hope, love, the Cross, and all spiritual things, and are not driven from without, by doctrines of men, but from within, by one Spirit (Romans viii, I Corinthians xii, Ephesians iv).

And the four beasts also go with the wheels, or rather the wheels with them, forward, backward, upward, and to both sides; for the apostles, or preachers, the Word of God, baptism, sacrament, keys and all that belongs to the spiritual government of the Church are also alike and in agreement throughout the world. And the beasts and the wheels hold fast together, so that the chariot is one, without external

The
Vision
of the
Wheels

Ps. 19: 4

II Pet.

1: 21

Ezek. 10:1

Rom. 8:9

I Cor.

12: 5

Eph. 4: 4

binding, fastening, or bracing. Thus everything is fourfold,—four beasts, four faces to a beast, four feet to a beast, four hands to a beast, four wings to a beast, four wheels, and four spokes to a wheel. That signifies, as said, that Christendom, or the kingdom of Christ, is to go to the four corners, that is, into all the world.

The
Destruction
of
Judaism

Rom. 8: 3
II Cor.
3: 6
Matt
11: 13

This vision, however, signifies the end and destruction of the synagogue, or of Judaism, that is, of the priesthood, the worship, and the organization given and instituted by Moses, all of which were instituted for no longer time than until the coming of Christ, as St. Paul says in Romans viii and II Corinthians iii, and Christ Himself in Matthew xi. The Epistle to the Hebrews also deals fully with this subject and the Jews take terrible offense at it, and it is a stumbling-block to them, even to the present day.

In opposition to the blindness of the Jews, it should be known especially that all the prophecies which say that Israel and Judah shall return again to their lands and possess them in a bodily way forever, are long since fulfilled, and that the hopes of the Jews are utterly vain and lost.

For this prophecy contains two things. The first is that Israel and Judah shall return to their land after their captivity, and this came to pass through King Cyrus and the Persians, before Christ's birth, when the Jews returned to their land and to Jerusalem from all countries, and came to Jerusalem every year to the feasts, even out of foreign lands, and drew many Gentiles with them and to them.

But the hope of the Jews that there shall be another physical return, when all of them together shall come back into the land and set up there the old Mosaic order of things,—this is a dream of their own and there is not a letter in the prophets or the Scriptures which says or signifies anything of the kind. It is written, indeed, that they shall return out of all lands whither they have been driven, but not all of them, only some of them out of all lands. There is a great difference between a return of all the Jews and a return out of all lands. The return out of all lands is fulfilled, but the

return of all the Jews was never prophesied, but rather the opposite; just as at Jerusalem, while it was yet standing, both before and after the Captivity, not all the people were the people of God, but the most of them were people of the devil, idolaters and murderers, and the worst people on earth.

The second thing, and the best thing in this prophecy, and one that the Jews will neither see nor heed, is that God promises to create something new in the land and make a new covenant, not like the old covenant of Moses that they dream about. This is plainly there in Jeremiah xxxi and Jer. 31: 33 many more places. There are to be no more two kingdoms, but one kingdom, under their King David, who is to come, and it shall be an everlasting kingdom in the same physical land.

This, too, is fulfilled. For when Christ came, and found the people gathered out of both Israel and Judah, and out of all lands, so that the land was full, He began the new order, and established the promised new covenant, and did it not at any spiritual place, or at another physical place, but exactly in the same physical land of Canaan, and at the same physical Jerusalem, as had been promised, whither they had been brought back out of all lands.

And although they did not want this covenant, or rather would not accept it, it has, nevertheless, remained an everlasting covenant, not only at Jerusalem and in that land; but it broke out from there into all the four corners of the world, and remains to the present day, both at Jerusalem and everywhere. For the place, Jerusalem, is still there, and Christ is Lord and King there, as in all the world; He helps and hears all those who come thither, as He does in all the world. Meanwhile He lets Mohammed, with his tyranny, and the pope with his jugglery, do what they do; He is and remains Lord over all.

The Jews hold fast to the name of Israel and claim that they alone are Israel and we are Gentiles; and this is true so far as the first part of the prophecy and the old covenant of

Moses are concerned, though this is long since fulfilled. But according to the second part of the prophecy and the new covenant, they are no longer Israel; for all things are to be new, and Israel, too, must become new, and they alone are the true Israel who have accepted the new covenant, which was established and begun at Jerusalem.

For according to the old covenant I am no Israelite, or Jew; but I claim that I am the son of St. Paul and an Israelite or Benjamite; for he is my father, not the old Paul, however, but the new Paul. He is still the old Paul, but out of the old Paul there has arisen a new Paul in Christ, and he has begotten me in Christ by the Gospel, so that according to the new covenant, I am like him. Thus all the Gentiles who are Christians are the true Israelites and new Jews, born of Christ, the noblest Jew. Everything, therefore, rests in the new covenant, which the Messiah was to found, making all things new, as He has done.

And this rule is to be noted well,—when the prophets say of Israel that it is all to return or be gathered, as in Micah ii, Ezekiel xx, etc., they are certainly speaking of the Israel, no member of which will remain outside the everlasting kingdom of Christ. It cannot possibly be understood to mean the old Israel, for the most of them, living and dead, stayed in Assyria and Babylonia and only a very few returned; Ezra numbers them all.

**The Old
Covenant
and the
New**

**Isa. 29:
10f**

The Jews, however, want to have a Messiah according to the old covenant, and pay no heed to this new covenant. So they miss both covenants and hang between heaven and earth; the new covenant they will not, the old they cannot, have. Therefore the Scriptures are sealed against them (Isaiah xxix) and they understand none of the prophets, and they are here without any government, either physical or spiritual. The physical, earthly government they have not, for they have neither king nor lord, neither kingdom nor principality; the spiritual, too, they have not, for they will not accept the new covenant and have to be without a priesthood. In a word, they not only despised this new covenant, but per-

secuted it and wanted to extirpate it and would not endure it; and their covenant has been destroyed by it.

Even though Jerusalem could have remained and the whole ancient order, the new covenant would, nevertheless, have had to come and make all things new, in order to fulfill the Scriptures; as they are now fulfilled in Christendom; namely, there would have had to be at Jerusalem an apostle, bishop, or preacher,—as Christ Himself established things,—who would have had to rule Christ's Church there, preach the Gospel, baptize, administer the Sacrament, absolve, bind, etc. If the high priest,—Caiaphas, or another,—had been unwilling to do this, an apostle would have had to do it, or one of the apostles' successors, as has happened heretofore and must happen. Thus the eternal kingdom of Christ would have had to rule even in the old Jerusalem, as well as in all the world, as the prophecy had promised, and the old kingdom of Moses would have remained as a temporal government.

For so the old, worldly, temporal government remains in all the world, and does not at all prevent the establishment of the new, spiritual, everlasting rule and kingdom of Christ under it and within it, though this kingdom has its own peculiar nature, as we clearly see. Especially is this the case where there are righteous kings and princes, who tolerate this new, everlasting kingdom of Christ under their old government, or accept it themselves, promote it, and desire, as Christians, to be in it. Otherwise the greater part of the kings, princes, and lords hate the new covenant and kingdom of Christ as poisonously and bitterly as the Jews at Jerusalem, and persecute it and would wipe it out, and like the Jews, they go to destruction because of it. That is what happened to Rome and will happen to others also, for it is promised that Christ's new kingdom shall be an everlasting kingdom, and the old kingdom must perish in the end.

It is well to remember, too, that since God Himself calls this kingdom a new kingdom it must be a far more glorious kingdom than the old kingdom was or is, and that it was

God's will to make it a far better kingdom than the old one; and even though it had no other glory, this alone would be enough to make it glorious beyond measure,—that it is to be an everlasting kingdom that will not come to an end like the old, human kingdom.

Now beside this, it contains such immeasurable, glorious blessings as forgiveness of sins, peace with God, security against everlasting death and all evil, communion with the divine Majesty, with all angels and saints, joy and pleasure in the whole creation, even in a bodily sense; for this same body, which is now the old body, shall also become new, together with the whole creation, as the soul has already begun to become new in faith.

Therefore the Jews do themselves wrong and injury when, through the Messiah, they desire, not the new kingdom, but the former, old, transitory kingdom, where they will possess, in mortal flesh, silver, gold, wealth, power, honor, pleasure, and joy, which are counted before God as very little things, nay, as nothing at all; for if He had willed to promise such a kingdom, He would call it, not a new kingdom, but another and better kingdom.

And in comparison with this world's goods, nothing else can be called new and better, except only the spiritual, everlasting, blessed goods in heaven, among which there can be nothing bad or evil. But among the earthly, old, temporal goods, however, glorious,—such as the Jews dream that they will get from their Messiah,—there must always be much that is bad, much that is evil; at least death must be there, and an end of these goods.

These two things Ezekiel teaches us when he encourages the people to expect the return from Babylon, but prophesies more about the new Israel and the kingdom of Christ. That is his vision of the chariot, and it is also the temple, in the last part of his book.

He who would understand this building of the temple, altar, city, and land, which Ezekiel describes, must take up

Lyra,²⁶ with his figures and glosses, otherwise he will toil and labor at the task in vain; and since we have not known how better to put the figures on paper, we have not attempted it, and refer the reader to Lyra; and besides, it is not possible to plot out a building on paper, but a carved model would have to be made.

About the significance of it, one doctor has thought one way, another a different way. But the understanding of it that is held by the Jews and others like them is, above all things, to be rejected. They think it is "the third temple," which must be built by the Messiah, who is to come, and in their foolish and vain hope, they claim for it much great glory. The blind and ignorant people do not see that the text cannot stand the interpretation of their dreams, as Lyra, too, has powerfully shown. For Ezekiel says neither that this city shall be called Jerusalem, nor that it shall stand at the place where Jerusalem is situated.

Jerusalem hangs on the north side of the mountain and the Temple stood in the midst of it, on Mount Moriah, and the castle of Zion high up toward the south. But this city of Ezekiel is to lie to the south and he says, "It shall be called *Dominus ibi*, 'There God,' or 'God there,' that is, 'There God Himself is.' And the Temple shall not be in it but, as the reckoning shows, it shall be seven good, big, German miles to the north; and the city on the high mountain shall be close to nine good, big, German miles both in length and breadth, so that the encircling wall shall be thirty-six German miles around; we may call that a little city, and the hill, on which it lies, a little hill.

If a citizen, living at the southern end of the city, wanted to go to church, or to the Temple, he would have to walk sixteen miles, nine through the city and seven to the Temple. The blind Jews do not see this absurdity, for this cannot be any physical building; still less can it be at the place where Jerusalem is situated, as they falsely hope.

There shall also be a great water, flowing out of the Temple into the Dead Sea (as the papists,—fools that they are!—

sing of their holy water), and this fits in nowise into the landscape of Israel.

Besides, the tribes and the land of Israel are very differently divided and arranged, so that the city and the Temple shall not lie in any tribe of Israel, though Jerusalem was previously located in the tribe of Benjamin. All of this and much more is plainly given in the text.

The altar shall be eleven ells high and fourteen ells wide at the top, so that even if a priest manages to mount the steps, he must have an arm seven ells long to reach onto the altar and arrange the sacrifice. It would have to be something of a priest, fifteen or sixteen good, big ells tall.

Therefore, this building of Ezekiel is not to be understood to mean a physical building, but like the chariot, so the building at the end is nothing else than the kingdom of Christ, the Holy Church, or Christendom, here on earth until the last day.

But how all the parts of the prophecy are to be interpreted and arranged, this we will leave until that life in which we shall see the whole building finished and complete. We cannot see it all now, since it is still in building, and much of the stone and wood that belong to it is not yet born, let alone prepared for the building. It is enough that we know it to be the house of God and his own building, in which we all are.

One who has the leisure and the inclination can look into it and search it, if he will take up God's Word and the sacraments, with the powers and effects which the Holy Ghost works in the Church through them, and bring these things into agreement. The Revelation of John can also help.

FROM THE PREFACE TO THE PROPHET DANIEL³⁰

1530

**The Com-
ing of
Christ**

From this we see what a splendid, great man Daniel was, before both God and the world. First before God, for he, above all other prophets, had this special prophecy to give,

that is, his work was not only to prophesy of Christ, like the others, but also to count the times and years, determine them, and fix them with certainty. Moreover, he arranges the kingdoms with their doings, down to the fixed time of Christ, in the right succession, and does it so finely that one cannot make a mistake about the coming of Christ, unless one does it wilfully, as do the Jews; and from that point on till the Last Day, he depicts the condition and state of the Roman Empire and the affairs of the world in such a way that no one can make a mistake about the Last Day or have it come upon him unawares, unless he does it wilfully, like our Epicureans."

Therefore it seems to me that St. Peter has Daniel especially in mind when he says, in I Peter i, "The prophets I Peter
1: 11
searched what time and what manner of time the Spirit of Christ signifies, etc." The "what" means that he definitely reckons and determines the time, how long and how many years it is to be until then; the "what manner" means that he finely depicts the way that things are to be in the world at that time, who is to have supreme rule, or where the empire is to be. Thus he proclaims, not only the time, but also the life, the form, and the nature of the time; and this strengthens our Christian faith immeasurably and makes us sure and firm in our consciences, since we see before our very eyes the course of events that he described and depicted so plainly and truly for us in his book so long ago. For Daniel prophesies boldly and determines plainly that the coming of Christ and the beginning of His kingdom (that is, His baptism and preaching) is to happen five hundred and ten years after King Cyrus (Daniel ix), and the empire of the Persians and Greeks is to be at an end, and the Roman Empire in force (Daniel vii, ix), that Christ, therefore, must certainly come at the time of the Roman Empire, when it was in its best state, and that it was to destroy Jerusalem and the Temple, since after it no other empire was to come, but the end of the world was to follow, as Daniel clearly announces in Daniel ii and vii.

Daniel's
Promi-
nence

Before the world, too, he is a splendid and great man, for we see here that he rules the first two kingdoms as their head. It is as though God were to say, "I must have people for these kingdoms, even though I allow my Jerusalem and my people to be destroyed in order to get them." To be sure, he was never a king and never had great wealth or honor from his work; nevertheless, he had the work, the business, and the duties of a king and attended to them all; for it is the way of the world that the people who do the most work at court get the least out of it, and those who do nothing get the most, according to the saying of the Gospel, "One soweth and another reapeth." Nay, what is worse, he had to take hatred, envy, danger, and persecution as his reward, for that is the reward with which the world is accustomed to repay all services and benefits.

John
4: 37

But that did not hurt Daniel; he was the dearer to God because of it and God rewarded him all the more richly, and held Daniel as a king in Babylon and Persia. For He counts and judges according to deeds and their fruits, not according to persons and names. Therefore Daniel was, in actual fact, the true king of Babylon and Persia, though he bore no royal title and had not much wealth from it, but rather misfortune and all kinds of danger. Lo, thus God can encourage His captive Jews, by taking the son of a burgher from destroyed Jerusalem and making him a two-fold emperor, in Babylon and Persia. Among all the children of Abraham, none was so highly exalted in the world as Daniel. Joseph was great in Egypt with King Pharaoh, David and Solomon were great in Israel, but they were all little kings and lords compared with the kings of Babylon and Persia, with whom Daniel was the foremost prince and whom he miraculously converted to God. And beyond doubt, he produced great fruit among the people in the two empires, bringing them to a knowledge of God and saving them, as is well indicated by the letters of these emperors and their command that the God of Daniel should be honored in all lands (Daniel ii, vi).

This Daniel we commend to the reading of all good Chris-

tians, to whom he is comforting and profitable in these wretched, last times; but to the godless he is of no profit, as he himself says, at the end, "The godless remain godless, and do not heed." For the prophecies of Daniel, and others like them, are written, not only in order that men may know the events and the tribulations that are to come, and satisfy their curiosity, but in order that the righteous shall be encouraged and made happy, and strengthened in faith and hope and patience, since they here see and hear that their misery has an end, that they are to be freed from sins, death, the devil, and all evil, and be brought into heaven, to Christ, into His blessed, everlasting kingdom. So Christ, too, in Luke xxi, encourages His own with terrible news, and says, "When ye shall see these things, then look up and lift up your heads, for your redemption is near, etc." So here, too, we see that Daniel always ends all his visions and dreams, however terrible, with joy; namely, with Christ's kingdom and advent, and it is on account of this advent, as the most important and final thing in them, that these visions and dreams were given, interpreted, and written.

One who would read them with profit must not depend entirely on the histories or events, or cling to them and go no farther, but must pasture and comfort his heart with the promised and certain advent of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which is the blessed and joyful redemption from this vale of misery and wretchedness. To this may this same Lord and Saviour help us, praised with the Father and the Holy Ghost, forever. Amen.

PREFACE TO THE PROPHET HOSEA

1532

Hosea lived and preached, as he himself indicates in the title, at the time of Jeroboam, the second and last king of Israel, at which time Isaiah also lived in Judah, also Amos and Micah; but Hosea was the oldest of them.

The Value
of Daniel
Today

Dan.
12: 10

Luke
21: 28

Jeroboam, too, was a fine and fortunate king and did much for the kingdom of Israel, as II Kings testifies in chapter xiv; nevertheless, he continued in the old idolatry of his ancestors, the kings of Israel, so that, although there were many fine men in the nation, they could not make the people righteous. For the devil had inflicted this misery on the people, that they always killed the prophets and sacrificed their children to the idols, and so filled the land with the guilt of blood, because of which he here threatens Jezreel, in chapter i.

II Kings
14: 23ff

Hos. 1: 5

It appears, however, as though this prophecy of Hosea was not fully and entirely written, but that pieces and sayings out of his preaching were arranged and brought together into a book; but we can trace and discover in it this much, at least,—he performed two duties, fully and boldly. The first was that, in his time, he preached hard against idolatry and bravely rebuked the people, together with his princes and priests, because of which he certainly tasted of death, like the others, and had to die as a heretic against the priests and a rebel against the king; for that is a prophetic and apostolic death, and so Christ Himself had to die. The second was that he also prophesied powerfully and very encouragingly about Christ and His kingdom, as is shown especially by chapters ii, xiii and xiv.

But no one should think, because he uses the words “harlot” and “harlotry” many times and took a harlot-wife (chapter i) that he was unchaste in words and works; for he speaks in a spiritual sense, and the “harlot-wife” was his real, honest wife, and with her he begot legitimate children; but the wife and children had to bear those shameful names as a sign and rebuke to the idolatrous nation, which was full of spiritual harlotry, that is, idolatry, as he himself says in the text, “The land runneth from the Lord after whoredom.”

Hos. 1: 2

Jer. 27: 2

Jer. 25: 17

In the same way Jeremiah wore the wooden yoke and carried the cup, and all the prophets usually did some strange thing as a sign to the people. So here, Hosea’s wife and children had to have harlots’ names as a sign against the whoring,

idolatrous nation. For it is not to be believed that God would bid a prophet practice harlotry, though some have thus interpreted this passage in Hosea.

PREFACE TO THE PROPHET JOEL

1532

Joel does not indicate at what time he lived and preached, but the ancients say that it was in the time of Hosea and Amos. We are satisfied with that, and have no better suggestion.

He is a kindly and gentle man and does not denounce and rebuke as do the other prophets, but beseeches and laments, and would make people righteous with good, friendly words, and protect them against harm and misfortune; but it happened to him as to the other prophets,—they did not believe his words and held him a fool.

Nevertheless, he is highly praised in the New Testament, for, in Acts ii, St. Peter quotes him and Joel had to provide Acts 2: 16 the first sermon that was preached in the Christian Church, on Pentecost, at Jerusalem, when the Holy Ghost was given. St. Paul, too, makes glorious use of the saying, "He that calleth on the name of the Lord shall be saved," which is con- Rom. 10: 13 tained in Joel ii.

In the first chapter, he prophesies future punishment upon the people of Israel; they are to be destroyed and carried away by the Assyrians; and he calls the Assyrians caterpillars, grasshoppers, beetles and vermin. For the Assyrians devoured the kingdom of Israel bit by bit, until they had completely ruined it; but in the end, King Sennacherib had to suffer defeat before Jerusalem. Joel touches on that here in chapter ii, when he says, "And him from the north will I Joel 2: 20 drive far from you."

In the end of the second chapter, and from there on, he prophesies of the Kingdom of Christ and of the Holy Ghost,

and speaks of the everlasting Jerusalem. He speaks of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and says that the Lord will summon all the Gentiles thither for judgment, and the ancient Fathers understand that to refer to the Last Judgment. I do not condemn this interpretation, but hold, nevertheless, that Joel's meaning is as follows,—As he calls the Christian Church the everlasting Jerusalem, so he calls it also the Valley of Jehoshaphat, for the reason that all the world is summoned to the Christian Church by the Word, and there is judged and punished by preaching, since all of them together are sinners before God. So Christ says, “The Spirit of truth shall punish the world because of sin.” For the Valley of Jehoshaphat is the valley of judgment. So, also, Hosea calls the Christian Church the Valley of Achor.

PREFACE TO THE PROPHET AMOS

1532

Amos fixes his own time. He lived and preached at the time of Hosea and Isaiah, and preached against the same vices and idolatry, or false sanctity, as did Hosea, and also proclaimed the Assyrian captivity.

He is violent, too, and denounces the people of Israel throughout almost the whole book, until the end of the last chapter, where he foretells Christ and His kingdom and closes his book with that. No prophet, as I think, does so little promising and so much denouncing and threatening, so that he may be well named Amos, that is, “a burden,” or “one who is hard to get along with and irritating,” especially since he was a shepherd and not of the order of prophets (as he himself says in chapter vii), and came, besides, out of the tribe of Judah, from Tekoa, into the kingdom of Israel, and preached there as a foreigner. Therefore, it is said, the priest Amaziah, whom he rebukes in chapter vii, had him beaten to death with a rod.*

In the first chapter he is hard and dark, when he speaks of three and four sins, and many have puzzled vainly over it, and sought far and wide for the meaning. But the text, I believe, clearly shows that these three and four sins are only one sin, for he always names and indicates only one sin. Against Damascus, for example, he names only the sin that "they have threshed Gilead with iron chariots," etc.

But he calls this sin "three and four" because they do not repent of the sin or recognize it, but rather boast of it and rely upon it, as though it were a good deed, as the false saints always do. For a sin cannot become worse, or greater, or more, than when it would be a holy, godly work, and makes the devil God, and God the devil. So, too, three and four make seven, which is the end of numbers in the Scripture where one turns back and begins to count again both the days and the weeks.

He is quoted twice in the New Testament. The first time is in Acts vii, where Stephen quotes the fifth chapter against the Jews and shows by it that the Jews did not keep God's Law from the time that they came out of Egypt. The second time is in Acts xv, where St. James quotes from the last chapter as a proof of Christian liberty, that the Gentiles, under the New Testament, are not bound to keep the law of Moses, which the Jews themselves have never kept and cannot keep, as St. Peter preaches in Acts xv. These are the two most important bits in Amos, and they are two very good bits.

Acts
7: 42ff
Amos 5:25
Acts
15: 16
Amos
9: 11f
Acts
15: 10

PREFACE TO THE PROPHET OBADIAH

1532

Obadiah does not indicate the time when he lived, but his prophecy applies to the time of the Babylonian Captivity, for he encourages the people of Judah with the thought that they shall return to Zion.

His prophecy is directed especially against Edom, or Esau, which bore an especial and everlasting hatred and envy against the people of Israel and Judah, as usually happens when friends turn against each other; and especially when brothers fall into hatred and enmity against each other, that enmity is beyond measure.

So the Edomites hated the Jewish people immeasurably, and had no greater joy than to see the captivity of the Jews, and boasted and mocked at them in their misery and wretchedness. Almost all the prophets denounce the Edomites **Ps. 137:7** because of their hateful wickedness; even the cxxxvii Psalm complains of them and says, "Remember the Edomites, O Lord, in the day of Jerusalem, who said, 'Down with it, down with it to its foundation.'"

Such conduct as this inflicts more than ordinary pain, this mocking and laughing at the wretched and the troubled, this defying them and boasting against them, which subjects their faith in God to great and strong temptations and urges them mightily to despair and unbelief. Therefore God here appoints a special prophet against these vexatious mockers and tempters. He encourages those who are troubled and strengthens their faith with threats and denunciations against these hostile Edomites, i.e., those who mock the wretched with promises and assurances of future help and rescue. He is, in very deed, a needed comfort and a useful Obadiah²⁰ in such distress.

At the end, he prophesies of Christ's Kingdom that it shall be not at Jerusalem only, but everywhere. For he mixes all the nations together,—Ephraim, Benjamin, Gilead, the Philistines, the Canaanites, Zarephath,—and this cannot be understood to refer to the temporal kingdom of Israel, for according to the law of Moses, these tribes and peoples had to be separated in the land.

The Jews interpret Zarephath to mean France and Sepharad to mean Spain. I let that go and believe none of it. On the contrary, I let Zarephath be the town near Sidon and Sepharad a town or district in Assyria where those at Jeru-

salem were captives, as the text plainly says, "And the captives of Jerusalem that are at Sepharad." But let anyone believe about this what he will.

PREFACE TO THE PROPHET JONAH

1526

There are some who would hold, as Jerome shows, that this prophet was the son of the widow at Zarephath, near Sidon, who fed the prophet Elijah in the famine (I Kings xvii and Luke iv). They give as a reason that he here calls himself "the son of Amittai," i.e., "a son of the True One," because his mother said to Elijah, when he had raised him from the dead, "Now I know that the word of thy mouth is true." I Kings 17: 9
Luke 4: 26

Let anyone believe this who will; I do not believe it. His father's name was Amittai, Latin, *Verax*. German, *Wahrhaftig*,^m from Gath-Hepher, a town in the tribe of Zebulun (Joshua xix); for it is written in II Kings xiv, "Jeroboam restored again the boundary of Israel from Hamath unto the Sea of Arabah, according to the word of the Lord, the God of Israel, which He spake by His servant Jonah, the son of Amittai, the prophet of Gath-Hepher." Josh. 19:13
II Kings 14: 25 Moreover the widow of Zarephath was a Gentile, as Christ says in Luke iv, but Jonah here admits that he is a Hebrew. Luke 4: 26

So we gather that this Jonah lived at the time of King Jeroboam, who was the grandfather of King Jehu, in whose time King Uzziah reigned in Judah. At this time, too, the prophets Hosea, Amos and Joel were in the same kingdom, in other places and towns. From this we can readily gather what a splendid and precious man this Jonah was in the kingdom of Israel. God did great things through him, for it was through his preaching that King Jeroboam was so fortunate and won back all that Hazael, King of Syria, had taken from the kingdom of Israel. Jonah 1: 9

But greater than all that he did in his own nation were his attacks upon the great and mighty kingdom of Assyria, and his fruitful preaching among the Gentiles, which accomplished results that could not have been accomplished among his own people with many sermons. It was as though God willed to demonstrate by him the word of Isaiah, "He that hath not heard, shall hear it," as an illustration of the fact that they who have the Word richly despise it mightily, and they who cannot have it accept it gladly. Christ Himself says, in Matthew xxi, "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you and given to the Gentiles, who bear its fruits."

Isa. 52:15
Matt. 21: 43

PREFACE TO THE PROPHET MICAH

1532

The prophet Micah lived at the time of Isaiah. He even uses the words of the other prophet, in Chapter ii, and thus one notes that prophets who lived at the same time used almost the same words in preaching of Christ, as though they had consulted.

He is one of the fine prophets, who rebukes the people severely for their idolatry, and constantly refers to the coming of Christ and His Kingdom. In one respect he is unique among the prophets, for he points with certainty to Bethlehem, naming it as the town where Christ was to be born. For this reason, he was famous under the Old Covenant, as Matthew shows, in Chapter ii.

Matt. 2: 6

He denounces, he prophesies, he preaches; but he believes that in the end, even though Israel and Judah have to go to pieces, Christ will come and make it all good. So, too, we now have to rebuke, denounce, encourage, and preach, and then say, "Even though all be lost, Christ will come at the Last Day and help us out of all misfortune."

In the first chapter, he is difficult, and uses many allusions^a . . . The grammarians will note that and observe the pains that we have taken.

PREFACE TO THE PROPHET NAHUM

1523

The prophet Nahum prophesies of the destruction that the Assyrians were to inflict upon the people of Israel and Judah, and that actually was accomplished by Shalmanezar and Sennacherib, because of the people's great sins, though only in so far, that the righteous remnant of them was preserved, as Hezekiah and those like him experienced. Therefore, it seems that he was before Isaiah, or at least contemporary with Isaiah.

After that, he announces the destruction of the kingdom of Assyria, especially of the city of Nineveh, which was very righteous in the time of Jonah, but afterwards became full of wickedness again, and greatly afflicted the captives of Israel, so that even Tobit announces the final ruin of its wickedness, and says, "Her iniquity will be her end." True to his name of Nahum (for Nahum means *consolator*, in German, "Comforter") he comforts God's people by telling them that their enemies, the Assyrians, shall be destroyed.

At the end of the first chapter, he speaks, as does Isaiah Isa. 52:7 lii, of the good preachers who proclaim peace and salvation on the mountains, and bids Judah exceedingly rejoice. Though that can be understood to refer to the time of Hezekiah, after Sennacherib, when Judah was rescued, and maintained itself against King Sennacherib, nevertheless, it is a general prophecy, and refers also to Christ, telling that the good tidings and the glad worship of God, taught and confirmed by God's Word, shall remain in Judah. Thus he is, and is rightly called, a real *Nahum*.³³

PREFACE TO THE PROPHET HABAKKUK

1526

This Habakkuk is a prophet of comfort, who is to strengthen and support the people and prevent them from despairing of the coming of Christ, however strangely things may go. Therefore, he needs all knowledge and everything

that can serve to keep faith in the promised Christ strong in their hearts. His message is as follows.

It is true, indeed, that because of their sins, the land must be destroyed by the king of Babylon. But Christ and His kingdom shall not fail to come on that account. On the contrary, the destroyer, the king of Babylon, shall have little good out of it, and he, too, shall perish. For it is the nature of God's work to help when there is need and to come at the right moment, as the song³⁸ says, "He remembereth mercy when trouble is there"; or as the proverb says, "When the rope holds tightest, it breaks."

Matt.
24: 38

In like manner, we must support Christians in anticipation of the Last Day, even though it appear that Christ delays long and will not come; for He Himself says that He will come when men least think it, when they are tilling and planting, buying and selling, eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage. Thus some, though not all, can be preserved in faith; for this requires both faith and preaching, as we see every day.

From all this we see that this Habakkuk lived before the Babylonian Captivity, possibly in the time of Jeremiah, and the meaning and purpose of his writing is easy to understand.

Some books say of Habakkuk that he brought food from the land of Judah to the prophet Daniel, when he was in prison. This has neither foundation nor probability. Besides, it does not agree with the time reckoning, since, so far as we can gather from Habakkuk's prophecy, he was older than Jeremiah, who lived through the destruction of Jerusalem, of which Habakkuk prophesied. But Daniel was after Jeremiah, and had lived long before he was thrown into prison.

But Habakkuk has the right name, for Habakkuk means, in German, "an embracer," i.e., one who embraces another and takes him in his arms. That is what he does in his prophecy; he embraces his people and takes them in his arms; i.e., he comforts them and holds them up, as one embraces a poor, weeping child, so that it may be quiet and satisfied, because things will go better, if God wills.

PREFACE TO THE PROPHET ZEPHANIAH

1532

Zephaniah lived in the time of the prophet Jeremiah, for as the title shows, he prophesied under King Josiah, as did Jeremiah. For that reason he prophesies the very same things as Jeremiah, namely, that Jerusalem and Judah shall be destroyed and the people carried away because of the wicked life, of which they do not repent.

He does not, however, like Jeremiah, name the king of Babylon as the one who is to inflict this destruction and captivity, but only says that God will bring misfortune and affliction upon them so that He may move them to repentance. For none of the prophets could ever persuade this people that God was angry with them. They relied continually on the claim that they were, and were called, God's people, and whoever preached that God was angry with them must be a false prophet, and must die, for they would not believe that God would leave His people. It was just as it is today, when all who teach that the Christians err and commit sin and that God will punish them, are denounced and killed as heretics.

But he prophesies this disaster not to Judah only, but also to all the surrounding and neighboring lands, such as the Philistines, Moab, the Ethiopians and the Assyrians. The King of Babylon is to be God's rod upon all lands.

In the third chapter, he prophesies gloriously and clearly of the happy and blessed kingdom of Christ, which shall be spread over all the world. Although he is a small prophet, he speaks more about Christ than many other great prophets, more than even Jeremiah. By this prophecy he gives the people rich comfort, so that they may not despair of God because of the Babylonian Captivity and their disaster, as though God had cast them off forever, but might be sure that, after their punishment, they would receive grace again and get the promised Saviour, Christ, with His glorious kingdom.

PREFACE TO THE PROPHET HAGGAI

1532

Haggai is the first prophet given to the people after the Babylonian Captivity, and by his prophecy the Temple and the worship of God were set up again. Besides, for two months Zechariah was given him as a companion, so that God's Word by the mouth of two witnesses might be the more surely believed, for the people had fallen into great doubt whether the Temple would ever be rebuilt.

It is our opinion that Daniel is speaking of this prophet, **Dan. 9: 25** when he says, in chapter ix, "From the time when the command goeth out that Jerusalem shall be rebuilt, until the prince, Christ," there are seven weeks and two and sixty weeks, etc." For although a decree had gone out before from King Cyrus that the Temple should be rebuilt at Jerusalem at his (the king's) expense, yet it was hindered until the time of Haggai and Zechariah, when God's decree went out through them, then the work went on.

He denounces the people, however, because they had given no thought to preparing the Temple and the worship, but had only been careful and greedy to get property and houses for themselves. For this reason they were afflicted with famine, with injury to their crops,—wine, corn, and all kinds of grain,—as an example to all the godless, who pay no heed to God's Word and worship, and are always greedy to fill their own bags. It is only to them that the text applies, when **Hag. 1: 6** he says, "Their bag shall be full of holes."

So we find in all history that when men will not support God's servants or help maintain His Word, He lets them be greedy for their own gain and gather wealth continually; but at last He causes the bag to be full of holes, and blows into it, so that it turns to dust and melts away, and no one knows what becomes of it. Either he will eat with them," or they shall find nothing to eat.

In the second chapter he prophesies of Christ also, and **Hag. 2: 7** says that He shall soon come, "A comfort of all nations,"

by which he indicates in a mystery that the kingdom of the Jews shall have an end, and the kingdoms of all the world be destroyed and become subject to Christ. This has happened before now and is constantly happening until the Last Day, when it will all be fulfilled.

PREFACE TO THE PROPHET ZECHARIAH

1532

This prophet lived after the Babylonian Captivity and with his comrade, Haggai, helped to rebuild the Temple and bring the scattered people together again, so that government and order might again be set up in the land. He is in truth one of the most comforting of the prophets, for he brings forward many lovely and comforting visions, and gives many kindly words, in order to encourage and strengthen the troubled and scattered people to set up the building and the government, in spite of the great and various resistance which they had endured. He does this down to the fifth chapter.

In the fifth chapter, under the vision of the letter and the ephah,²⁷ he prophesies of the false teachers who are afterwards to come among the Jewish people, and who will deny Christ; and this still applies to the Jews at the present day.

In the sixth, he prophesies of the Gospel of Christ and the spiritual temple, to be built in all the world, because the Jews denied Him and would not have Him.

In the seventh and eighth a question arises which the prophet answers, encouraging and exhorting them once more to build the Temple and establish the government; and with this he concludes the prophecy about the rebuilding in his time.

In the ninth, he goes on to the time to come, and prophesies, first, in chapter x, of how Alexander the Great shall win Tyre and Sidon and Philistia, so that the whole world shall

be opened to the coming Gospel of Christ, and he leads King Christ into Jerusalem on an ass.

In the eleventh, however, he prophesies that Christ shall be sold by the Jews for thirty pieces of silver, for which cause He will leave them, so that Jerusalem shall finally be destroyed and the Jews be hardened in their error and dispersed, and thus the Gospel and the Kingdom of Christ come to the Gentiles, after the sufferings of Christ, in which He, as the shepherd, shall be smitten, and the apostles, as the sheep, be scattered. For He must first suffer and thus enter into His glory.

In the last chapter, when he has destroyed Jerusalem, he abolishes the Levitical priesthood, with its organization and vessels and festivals, and says, "All spiritual offices shall be common, for the service of God, and shall not belong to the tribe of Levi only"; that is, there shall be other priests, other festivals, other sacrifices, other worship, which other tribes can observe, nay, even the Egyptians and all Gentiles. That means that the old testament is to be abolished and taken away.

PREFACE TO THE PROPHET MALACHI

1532

The Hebrews believe that this Malachi was Ezra. We let that pass, because we can know nothing certain about him, except that, so far as we can gather from his prophecy, he lived not long before Christ's birth and was certainly the last prophet; for he says, in chapter ii, that Christ the Lord shall come soon.

He is a fine prophet, and his book contains beautiful sayings about Christ and His Gospel, which he calls "a pure offering in all the world"; for by the Gospel God's grace is praised, and that is the true, pure thank-offering. Again, he prophesies of the coming of John the Baptist, as Christ Himself points out, in Matthew xi, calling John His angel and the Elijah, of whom Malachi writes.

Matt.
11: 14

Besides, he denounces his people severely because they do not give the priests their tithes and other services. Even when they gave them, they did it faithlessly; sick and blemished sheep, for example, had to be good enough for the poor priests and preachers. That is the way it usually goes; those who are true preachers of the Word of God must suffer hunger and want and false teachers must always have their fill. To be sure, the priests, too, were denounced because they took these offerings and sacrificed them. That was the work of dear Sir Avarice.

But God here declares that He is greatly displeased with this, and calls this faithlessness and wickedness a disgrace, put upon Him. Therefore He threatens to leave them and take the Gentiles as His people.

Afterwards he denounces the priests especially, because they falsified the Word of God and taught it faithlessly, and abused their priestly office, and did not rebuke those who offered blemished things or were otherwise unrighteous, but rather praised them and called them righteous, so that they might get offerings and profit from them. So avarice and care for the belly have always injured the Word and worship of God, and always make hypocrites of the preachers.

He denounces them also because they troubled² their wives and despised them, and thereby defiled their sacrifices and worship. For it was forbidden in the law of Moses to offer troubled sacrifices to God, and those who were troubled dared not sacrifice or eat of the sacrifice. They did this who troubled their wives and made them weep, and they tried to help themselves by the example of Abraham, who had to drive out Hagar and trouble her. But he did it not for self-will, just as he had not taken her to wife because of a whim.

NOTES ON THE PREFACES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

¹ *Dies dritte Theil werde müssen herhalten.* The "third part" is the third portion of the Old Testament. See *Introduction*.

² This Preface was published in Latin in 1529. An earlier Preface appeared in connection with Luther's first translation of the Psalms in 1524. It is printed in *Erlangen Ed.*, xxxvii, pp. 107-110.

³ See above p. 385.

⁴ "Know thyself."

¹ German, *Die Sprüche*.

² *Ehe sie sich umsieht*.

³ i.e., The torturer's wheels.

⁴ i.e., Proverbs.

⁵ *Narren oder Thoren*.

⁶ "Wanted, but not granted."

⁷ "Who has luck, gets the bride."

⁸ *Es gehet den Krebsgang*.

⁹ For Luther "Epicurean" is synonymous with "unbeliever."

¹⁰ i.e., An ephod (Judges 8:27).

¹¹ *Ishi*, not *Baali*.

¹² "My master."

¹³ i.e., An interpretation.

¹⁴ i.e., South or North.

¹⁵ *Dunkelmeister*.

¹⁶ For this legend see *Realencyk.* VIII, 714; *Schaff-Herzog Encyc.* VI, 36; *Jewish Encyc.* VI, 636.

¹⁷ This legend was known to the Fathers of the ancient Church. It is referred to by Tertullian and Jerome. Cf. *Realencyk.* VIII, 649; *Schaff-Herzog Encyc.* VI, 120. It is called by the *Jewish Encyc.* (VII, 102) "A Christian legend."

¹⁸ Cf. Vol. II, p. 161.

¹⁹ Cf. above, p. 398.

²⁰ For this statement Luther is probably dependent on the notice of Jerome in his *Preface to Ezekiel*. Cf. *HASTINGS, Bible Dictionary*, I, 819.

²¹ Nicholas of Lyra (d. 1340). His commentaries on the Bible were the most popular of all pre-Reformation works of the kind. Luther used them extensively, especially in his *Commentary on Genesis*. Cf. *Realencyk.* XII, 28ff. *Cath. Encyc.* XI, 63.

²² Contrary to the practice usually followed in this edition of *Luther's Works*, the editors have included only a portion of this Preface. The Book of Daniel was published separately in 1530, with a dedication to John Frederick of Saxony (printed in SMITH & JACOBS, *Luther's Correspondence* II, 516ff) in which Luther expressed his conviction that the end of the world was near at hand. The Preface was, in effect, a brief commentary on the entire book. The concluding portion of the Preface is here translated. The translation is made from *Erlangen Ed.* xli, 321ff.

²³ See above, p. 397.

²⁴ On this tradition, cf. *Jewish Encyc.* I, 533.

²⁵ i.e., "Servant of the Lord."

²⁶ English, "True."

²⁷ i.e., Plays on words. Luther furnishes several illustrations in Hebrew and German, which are without point when translated.

²⁸ i.e., A comforter; cf. above.

²⁹ i.e., The Song of Habakkuk. Cf. Ch. 3:2.

³⁰ English Version, "The anointed prince."

³¹ i.e., Receive a share of their wealth.

³² English (A. V.), "The desire of all nations."

³³ English, "The flying roll," Zech. 5:1-8.

³⁴ English A. V. "Dealt treacherously with." Mal. 3:15.

PREFACE TO THE NEW TESTAMENT

1545 (1522)

¹[It would be right and proper that this book should appear without preface and without any other name than that of its authors, and convey only its own name and its own language. But many wild interpretations and prefaces have driven the thought of Christians to a point where no one any longer knows what is Gospel or Law, Old Testament or New. Necessity demands, therefore, that it should have an announcement, or preface, by which the simple man can be brought back from the old notions to the right road, and taught what he is to expect in this book, so that he may not seek laws and commandments where he ought to be seeking the Gospel and God's promises.

Therefore it should be known, in the first place, that the idea must be given up that there are four Gospels and only four Evangelists. The division of the New Testament books into legal, historical, prophetic and wisdom books, is also to be rejected entirely. Some make this division, thinking that by it they are somehow comparing the New with the Old Testament. On the contrary, it is to be held firmly that,]

Just as the Old Testament is a book in which are written God's laws and commandments, together with the history of those who kept and of those who did not keep them; so the New Testament is a book in which are written the Gospel and the promises of God, together with the history of those who believe and of those who do not believe them. For ^{The Gospel} Gospel' is a Greek word, and means in Greek, a good message, good tidings, good news, a good report, which one sings and tells with rejoicing.^a So, when David overcame the great Goliath, there came among the Jewish people the good report and encouraging news that their terrible enemy had been ^{I Sam.} smitten and they had been rescued and given joy and peace; ^{18: 6} and they sang and danced and were glad for it.

So the Gospel, too, is a good story and report, sounded forth into all the world by the apostles, telling of a true David who strove with sin, death, and devil, and overcame them, and thereby rescued all those who were captive in sin, afflicted with death, and overpowered by the devil; He made them righteous, gave them life, and saved them, so that they were given peace and brought back to God. For this they sing, and thank and praise God, and are glad forever, if only they believe firmly and are steadfast in faith.

The New
Testament
and the
Old

This report and encouraging tidings, or evangelical and divine news, is also called a New Testament, because it is a testament, when a dying man bequeaths his property, after his death, to heirs whom he names,⁴ and Christ, before His death commanded and bequeathed this Gospel, to be preached into all the world, and thereby gave to all who believe, as their possession, everything that He had, that is, His life, in which He swallowed up death; His righteousness, by which He blotted out sin; His salvation, with which He overcame everlasting damnation. A poor man, dead in sin and tied for hell, can hear nothing more comforting than this precious and tender message about Christ, and from the bottom of his heart, he must laugh and be glad over it, if he believes it true.

Rom. 1:1f

Now to strengthen this faith, God promised this Gospel and testament in many ways, by the prophets in the Old Testament, as St. Paul says, in Romans i, "I am separated to preach the Gospel of Christ, which He promised before through His prophets in the Holy Scripture, concerning His Son, who was born of the seed of David, etc."

Gen. 3:15

To indicate some of these places:—He gave the first promise, when He said to the serpent, in Genesis iii, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; he shall tread on thy head and thou shalt sting his heel." Christ is the seed of this woman, and He has trodden upon the devil's head, i.e., sin, death, hell, and all his power, for without this seed, no man can escape sin, death, or hell.

Again, in Genesis xxii, He promised Abraham, "Through thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." "Christ is the seed of Abraham," says St. Paul, in Galatians iii, and He has blessed all the world through the Gospel, for where Christ is not, there is still the curse that fell upon Adam and his children when he had sinned, so that all of them together are guilty of sin, death, and hell, and must belong to them. Against this curse the Gospel blesses all the world by the public announcement, "He that believeth in this seed shall be blessed," that is, rid of sin and righteous, and shall remain alive and be saved forever; as Christ Himself says, in John xi, "He that believeth in me shall never die."

Gen.

22: 18

Gal. 3: 1

John

11: 26

II Sam

7: 12ff

Again, He made this promise to David, in II Samuel vii, when He said, "I will raise up thy seed after thee, who shall build a house to my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever." That is the kingdom of Christ, of which the Gospel speaks, an everlasting kingdom, a kingdom of life, salvation, and righteousness, and all those who believe shall enter into it from out of the prison of sin and death.

There are many more such promises of the Gospel in the other prophets also, for example, in Micah v, "And thou, Bethlehem, Ephratah, though thou art small in comparison with the thousands of Judah, out of thee shall come for me Him who is Lord in Israel"; and again in Hosea xiii, "I will redeem them from hell and rescue them from death; death, I will be to thee a poison; hell, I will be to thee a pestilence."

Mic. 5:

Hos. 13:

The Gospel, then, is nothing but the preaching about Christ, Son of God and of David, true God and man, who by His death and resurrection has overcome all men's sin, and death and hell, for us who believe in Him. Thus the Gospel can be either a brief or a lengthy message; one can describe it briefly, another at length. He describes it at length, who describes many works and words of Christ,—as do the four Evangelists; he describes it briefly who does not tell of Christ's works, but indicates shortly how by His

The
Gospel
Not a
Law

death and resurrection He has overcome sin, death, and hell for those who believe in Him, as do St. Peter and St. Paul.

See to it, therefore, that you do not make of Christ a second Moses or of the Gospel a book of laws and doctrines, as has been done heretofore; and certain prefaces, even those of St. Jerome, speak for this. For the Gospel does not really demand works of ours by which we become righteous and are saved, nay, it condemns such works; but it does demand faith in Christ, that He has overcome for us sin, death, and hell, and thus makes us righteous, and gives us life and salvation, not through our works, but through His own works, death, and suffering, in order that we may avail ourselves of His death and victory, as though they were our own.

To be sure, Christ, in the Gospel, and St. Peter and St. Paul besides, do give many commandments and doctrines, and expound the law, but these are to be counted like all Christ's other works and benefits. To know His works and the things that happened to Him, is not yet a knowledge of the Gospel, for if you know only these things, you do not yet know that He has overcome sin, death, and devil. So, too, it is not yet knowledge of the Gospel, when you know these doctrines and commandments, but only when the voice comes that says, "Christ is your own, with His life, teaching, works, death, resurrection, and all that He is, has, does, and can do."

We see, also, that He does not compel us but invites us kindly and says, "Blessed are the poor, etc."; and the apostles use the words, "I exhort," "I entreat," "I beg." Thus one sees on every hand that the Gospel is not a book of law, but really a preaching of the benefits of Christ, shown to us and given to us for our own, if we believe. But Moses, in his books, drives, compels, threatens, smites and rebukes terribly; for he is a law-giver and driver.

Hence it comes that to a believer no law is given by which he becomes righteous before God, as St. Paul says in I Timothy i, because he is alive and righteous and saved by

faith, and he needs nothing more, except to prove his faith by works. Nay, if faith is there, he cannot hold himself back; he shows himself, breaks out into good works, confesses and teaches this Gospel before people, and risks his life for it. Everything that he lives and does is directed to his neighbor's profit, in order to help him, not only to the attainment of this grace, but in body, property, and honor. He sees that this is what Christ has done for him, and he follows Christ's example.

That is what Christ meant when He gave, at last, no other commandment than love, by which men were to know who were His disciples and true believers. For where works and love do not break forth, there faith is not right, the Gospel does not take hold, and Christ is not rightly known. See, then, that you so approach the books of the New Testament as to learn to read them in this way.

'[From all this you can now judge all the books and decide among them which are the best. John's Gospel and St. Paul's Epistles, especially that to the Romans, and St. Peter's first Epistle are the true kernel and marrow of all the books. They ought rightly be the first books and it would be advisable for every Christian to read them first and most, and by daily reading, make them as familiar as his daily bread.]

The Best
Books in
the New
Testament

In them you find not many works and miracles of Christ described, but you do find it depicted, in masterly fashion, how faith in Christ overcomes sin, death, and hell, and gives life, righteousness, and salvation. This is the real nature of the Gospel, as you have heard.

If I had to do without one or the other,—either the works or preaching of Christ,—I would rather do without His works than His preaching; for the works do not help me, but His words give life, as He Himself says. Now John John 5:5 writes very little about the works of Christ, but very much about His preaching, while the other Evangelists write much of His works and little of His preaching; therefore John's Gospel is the one, tender, true chief Gospel, far, far to be

preferred to the other three and placed high above them. So, too, the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Peter far surpass the other three Gospels,—Matthew, Mark and Luke.

In a word, St. John's Gospel and his first Epistle, St. Paul's Epistles, especially Romans, Galatians and Ephesians, and St. Peter's first Epistle are the books that show you Christ and teach you all that it is necessary and good for you to know, even though you were never to see or hear any other book or doctrine. Therefore St. James' Epistle is really an epistle of straw, compared to them; for it has nothing of the nature of the Gospel about it. But more of this in other prefaces.*]

NOTES ON THE PREFACE TO THE NEW TESTAMENT

¹ The section enclosed in brackets appears only in the edition of 1522.

² *Evangelium*.

³ The 1522 edition adds here, "Thus one may be sure that there is only one Gospel, just as there is only one book, the New Testament, one faith, and one God, Who gives the promise."

⁴ Cf. Vol. I, pp. 302f.

⁵ The section in brackets is in the edition of 1522, but is omitted from later editions.

⁶ See, especially, the Preface to James, below, p. 477.

PREFACE TO THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

1534

This book should be read and regarded not as though St. Luke had written of the personal works and lives of the apostles for an example of good works and good lives only; though this is the way it has sometimes been taken. Even St. Augustine and many others have looked upon the fact that the apostles had all things in common with Christians as the best example which the book contains; though this did not last long and had to stop, after a time. On the contrary, it is to be noted that by this book St. Luke teaches the whole Church, to the end of the world, the true chief point of Christian doctrine; namely, that we must all be justified only through faith in Jesus Christ, without any addition of law or help from good works.

This doctrine is the chief intention of the book and the author's principal cause for writing it. Therefore he stresses so mightily, not only the preaching of the apostles about faith in Christ and how both Gentiles and Jews must be justified by it without any merits or works, but also the examples and the instances of this teaching, telling how Gentiles as well as Jews were justified through the Gospel only, without the law. So St. Peter testifies in Chapters x Acts 10: and xv, that, in this matter, God made no distinction between 28; 15:5 Jews and Gentiles, but just as He gave the Holy Ghost to the Gentiles through the Gospel though they lived without the law, so He gave Him to the Jews through the Gospel, and not through the law or because of their own works and merits. Thus he puts side by side, in this book, both the doctrine about faith and the example of faith.

This book might well be called, therefore, a commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul. For what Paul teaches and insists upon with words and passages of Scripture, St. Luke here points out and proves with examples and instances

which show that it has happened, and must happen, as St. Paul teaches, to wit, that no law, no work justifies men, but only faith in Christ. Here, in this book, you find, then, a fair mirror, in which you can see that it is true. *Sola fides justificat*, "faith alone justifies," for all the examples and instances of this doctrine contained in it are sure and comforting testimonies, which neither lie nor deceive you.

For see how St. Paul himself was converted; how the Gentile, Cornelius, was converted through St. Peter's word, the angel telling him beforehand that Peter would preach to
 Acts 13: 7 him, and so he would be saved. Look at the proconsul Sergius, and all the cities where Paul and Barnabas preached; look at the first council of the apostles at Jerusalem, in
 Acts 15: 2 Chapter xv; look at all the preaching of St. Peter, Paul, Stephen and Philip;—you will find that it all comes to one thing; it is only through the faith of Christ, without law and works, that we must come into grace and be justified. By means of this book, used this way, we can stop, in masterly fashion and mightily, the mouths of opponents who point us to the law and our own works and publish their foolish unwisdom to all the world.

Therefore St. Luke says that these illustrations of faith amazed the pious Jews, who had become believers, and that the unbelieving Jews became mad and foolish over it. And this was no wonder, for they had been raised in the law and had been accustomed to it from Abraham down and it could not but vex them that the Gentiles, who were without law and God, should be, like themselves, in God's grace.

But that our people, who are all Gentiles, should slander and persecute this doctrine is ten times worse; for here we see, and cannot deny, that the grace of God and the knowledge of Christ came to our forebears without law and merit, nay, when they were in horrible idolatry and blasphemy. But they will gain as much by their slander and persecution as the Jews gained by their raging and raving. He who had before threatened the Jews and had Moses sing, "I will
 Dent. 32: 21 make you wroth with that which is not my people, and with

a foolish folk will I make you angry," and said in Hosea, Chapter ii, "I will call 'My people' those who were not my ^{Hos. 2:1} people" (i.e. those who live without law and works), and who kept His word, He, I say, threatens these slanderers of ours with the same things, and He will surely keep His word, as He has already begun to do; but they will not believe it until, like the Jews, they have the experience. Amen.

PREFACE TO THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS

1522

This Epistle is really the chief part of the New Testament and the very purest Gospel, and is worthy not only that every Christian should know it word for word, by heart, but occupy himself with it every day, as the daily bread of the soul. It can never be read or pondered too much, and the more it is dealt with the more precious it becomes, and the better it tastes.

Therefore, I, too, will do my best, so far as God has given me power, to open the way into it through this preface, so that it may be the better understood by everyone. For heretofore it has been evilly darkened with commentaries and all kinds of idle talk, though it is, in itself, a bright light, almost enough to illumine all the Scripture.

To begin with we must have knowledge of its language and know what St. Paul means by the words, law, sin, grace, faith, righteousness, flesh, spirit, etc., otherwise no reading of it has any value.

The little word "law," you must not take here in human ^{The Law} fashion, as a teaching about what works are to be done or not done. That is the way it is with human laws,—the law is fulfilled by works, even though there is no heart in them. But God judges according to what is at the bottom of the ^{Law is} heart, and for this reason, His law makes its demands on the ^{for the} inmost heart and cannot be satisfied with works, but rather ^{Heart}

punishes works that are done otherwise than from the bottom of the heart, as hypocrisy and lies. Hence all men are
Ps. 116:11 called liars, in Psalm cxvi, for the reason that no one keeps or can keep God's law from the bottom of the heart, for everyone finds in himself displeasure in what is good and pleasure in what is bad. If, then, there is no willing pleasure in the good, then the inmost heart is not set on the law of God, then there is surely sin, and God's wrath is deserved, even though outwardly there seem to be many good works and an honorable life.

Hence St. Paul concludes, in chapter ii, that the Jews are
Rom. 2: 13 all sinners, and says that only the doers of the law are righteous before God. He means by this that no one is, in his works, a doer of the law; on the contrary, he speaks to
Rom. 2: 22 them thus, "Thou teachest not to commit adultery, but thou
Rom. 2: 2 committest adultery"; and "Wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself, because thou doest the same thing that thou judgest"; as if to say, "You live a fine outward life in the works of the law, and judge those who do not so live, and know how to teach everyone; you see the splinter
Matt. 7: 5 in the other's eye, but of the beam in your own eye you are not aware."

For even though you keep the law outwardly, with works, from fear of punishment or love of reward, nevertheless, you do all this without willingness and pleasure, and without love for the law; but rather with unwillingness, under compulsion; and you would rather do otherwise, if the law were not there. The conclusion is that at the bottom of your heart you hate the law. What matter, then, that you teach others not to steal, if you are a thief at heart, and would gladly be one outwardly, if you dared? Though, to be sure, the outward work is not far behind such hypocrites! Thus you teach others, but not yourself; and you yourself know not what you teach, and have never yet rightly understood the law. Nay,
Rom. 5:20 the law increases sin, as he says in chapter v, for the reason that the more the law demands what men cannot do, the more they hate the law.

For this reason he says, in chapter vii, "The law is spiritual." What is that? If the law were for the body, it could be satisfied with works; but since it is spiritual, no one can satisfy it, unless all that you do is done from the bottom of the heart. But such a heart is given only by God's Spirit, who makes a man equal to the law, so that he acquires a desire for the law in his heart, and henceforth does nothing out of fear and compulsion, but everything out of a willing heart. That law, then, is spiritual which will be loved and fulfilled with such a spiritual heart, and requires such a spirit. Where that spirit is not in the heart, there sin remains, and displeasure with the law, and enmity toward it; though the law is good and just and holy.

Accustom yourself, then, to this language, and you will find that doing the works of the law and fulfilling the law are two very different things. The work of the law is everything that one does, or can do toward keeping the law of his own free will or by his own powers. But since under all these works and along with them there remains in the heart dislike for the law and the compulsion to keep it, these works are all wasted and have no value. That is what St. Paul means in chapter iii, when he says, "By the works of the law no man becomes righteous before God." Hence you see that the wranglers and sophists are deceivers, when they teach men to prepare themselves for grace by means of works. How can a man prepare himself for good by means of works, if he does no good works without displeasure and unwillingness of heart? How shall a work please God, if it proceeds from a reluctant and resisting heart?

To fulfil the law, however, is to do its works with pleasure and love, and to live a godly and good life of one's own accord, without the compulsion of the law. This pleasure and love for the law is put into the heart by the Holy Ghost, as he says in chapter v. But the Holy Ghost is not given except in, with, and by faith in Jesus Christ, as he says in the introduction; and faith does not come, save only through God's Word or Gospel, which preaches Christ, that He is

Rom. 7
The Law
Spiritual

Rom. 3:

The Fulfilling
the Law

Rom.

God's Son and a man, and has died and risen again for our

Rom. 3:25, sakes, as he says in chapters iii, iv and x.

4: 25,

10: 9

Hence it comes that faith alone makes righteous and fulfils the law; for out of Christ's merit, it brings the Spirit, and the Spirit makes the heart glad and free, as the law requires that it shall be. Thus good works come out of faith.

Rom. 3: 31 That is what he means in chapter iii, after he has rejected the works of the law, so that it sounds as though he would abolish the law by faith; "Nay," he says, "we establish the law by faith," that is, we fulfil it by faith.

Sin Sin, in the Scripture, means not only the outward works of the body, but all the activities that move men to the outward works, namely, the inmost heart, with all its powers. Thus the little word "do" ought to mean that a man falls all the way into sin and walks in sin. This is done by no outward work of sin, unless a man goes into sin altogether, body and soul. And the Scriptures look especially into the heart and have regard to the root and source of all sin, which is unbelief in the inmost heart. As, therefore, faith alone makes righteous, and brings the Spirit, and produces pleasure in good, eternal works, so unbelief alone commits sin, and brings up the flesh, and produces pleasure in bad external works, as happened to Adam and Eve in Paradise.

Gen. 3: 6

Hence Christ calls unbelief the only sin, when he says, in **John xvi**, "The Spirit will rebuke the world for sin, because they believe not on me." For this reason, too, before good or bad works are done, which are the fruits, there must first be in the heart faith or unbelief, which is the root, the sap, the chief power of all sin. And this is called in the Scriptures, **Gen. 3: 15** the head of the serpent and of the old dragon, which the seed of the woman, Christ, must tread under foot, as was promised to Adam, in Genesis iii.

Grace Between grace and gift there is this difference. Grace means properly God's favor, or the good-will God bears us, by which He is disposed to give us Christ and to pour into us the Holy Ghost, with His gifts. This is clear from chap-

Rom. 5:15 ter v, where he speaks of "the grace and gift in Christ." The

gifts and the Spirit increase in us every day, though they are not yet perfect, and there remain in us the evil lust and sin that war against the Spirit, as he says in Romans vii and Rom. 7 Galatians v, and the quarrel between the seed of the woman Gal. 5: and the seed of the serpent is foretold in Genesis iii. Nevertheless, grace does so much that we are accounted wholly righteous before God. For His grace is not divided or broken up, as are the gifts, but it takes us entirely into favor, for the sake of Christ our Intercessor and Mediator, and because of that the gifts are begun in us. Gen. 3:

In this sense, then, you understand chapter vii, in which St. Paul still calls himself a sinner, and yet says, in chapter viii, that there is nothing condemnably in those who are in Christ Rom. 8: on account of the incompleteness of the gifts and of the Spirit. Because the flesh is not yet slain, we still are sinners; but because we believe and have a beginning of the Spirit, God is so favorable and gracious to us that He will not count the sin against us or judge us for it, but will deal with us according to our faith in Christ, until sin is slain.

Faith is not that human notion and dream that some hold Faith for faith. Because they see that no betterment of life and no good works follow it, and yet they can hear and say much about faith, they fall into error, and say, "Faith is not enough; one must do works in order to be righteous and be saved." This is the reason that, when they hear the Gospel, they fall to—and make for themselves, by their own powers, an idea in their hearts, which says, "I believe." This they hold for true faith. But it is a human imagination and idea that never reaches the depths of the heart, and so nothing comes of it and no betterment follows it.

Faith, however, is a divine work in us. It changes us and Faith and Works makes us to be born anew of God (John i); it kills the old Adam and makes altogether different men, in heart and spirit and mind and powers, and it brings with it the Holy Ghost. John 1:1 O, it is a living, busy, active, mighty thing, this faith; and so it is impossible for it not to do good works incessantly. It does not ask whether there are good works to do, but before

the question rises; it has already done them, and is always at the doing of them. He who does not these works is a faithless man. He gropes and looks about after faith and good works, and knows neither what faith is nor what good works are, though he talks and talks, with many words, about faith and good works.

Faith is a living, daring confidence in God's grace, so sure and certain that a man would stake his life on it a thousand times. This confidence in God's grace and knowledge of it makes men glad and bold and happy in dealing with God and with all His creatures; and this is the work of the Holy Ghost in faith. Hence a man is ready and glad, without compulsion, to do good to everyone, to serve everyone, to suffer everything, in love and praise of God, who has shown him this grace; and thus it is impossible to separate works from faith, quite as impossible as to separate heat and light from fire. Beware, therefore, of your own false notions and of the idle talkers, who would be wise enough to make decisions about faith and good works, and yet are the greatest fools. Pray God to work faith in you; else you will remain forever without faith, whatever you think or do.

**Righteous-
ness**

Righteousness, then, is such a faith and is called "God's righteousness," or "the righteousness that avails before God," because God gives it and counts it as righteousness for the sake of Christ, our Mediator, and makes a man give to every man what he owes him. For through faith a man becomes sinless and comes to take pleasure in God's commandments; thus he gives to God the honor that is His and pays Him what he owes Him; but he also serves man willingly, by whatever means he can, and thus pays his debt to everyone. Such righteousness nature and free will and all our powers cannot bring into existence. No one can give himself faith, and no more can he take away his own unbelief; how, then, will he take away a single sin, even the very smallest? Therefore, all that is done apart from faith, or in unbelief, is false; it is hypocrisy and sin, no matter how good a show it makes (Romans xiv).

Rom.

14: 23

You must not so understand flesh and spirit as to think that flesh has to do only with unchastity and spirit only with what is inward, in the heart; but Paul, like Christ, in John iii, calls "flesh" everything that is born of the flesh; viz., the whole man, with body and soul, mind and senses, because everything about him longs for the flesh. Thus you should learn to call him "fleshly" who thinks, teaches, and talks a great deal about high spiritual matters, but without grace. From the "works of the flesh," in Galatians v, you can learn that Paul calls heresy and hatred "works of the flesh," and in Romans viii, he says that "the law was weak through the flesh," and this does not refer to unchastity, but to all sins, above all to unbelief, which is the most spiritual of all vices. On the other hand, he calls him a spiritual man who is occupied with the most external kind of works, as Christ, when He washed the disciples' feet, and Peter, when he steered his boat, and fished. Thus "the flesh" is a man who lives and works, inwardly and outwardly, in the service of the flesh's profit and of this temporal life; "the spirit" is the man who lives and works, inwardly and outwardly, in the service of the Spirit and the future life.

Without such an understanding of these words, you will never understand this letter of St. Paul, or any other book of Holy Scripture. Therefore, beware of all teachers who use these words in a different sense, no matter who they are, even Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Origen, and men like them, or above them. Now we will take up the Epistle.

It is right for a preacher of the Gospel first, by a revelation of the law and of sin, to rebuke everything and make sin of everything that is not the living fruit of the Spirit and of faith in Christ, so that men may be led to know themselves and their own wretchedness, and become humble and ask for help. That is what St. Paul does. He begins in Chapter i and rebukes the gross sin and unbelief that are plainly evident, as the sins of the heathen, who live without God's grace, were and still are. He says: The wrath of God is revealed from heaven, through the Gospel, upon all men

Flesh
and
Spirit

John 3

Gal. 5:

Rom. 8

The Cor
tents of
the
Epistle
Sin and
Righteous
ness

because of their godless lives and their unrighteousness. For even though they know and daily recognize that there is a God, nevertheless, nature itself, without grace, is so bad that it neither thanks nor honors Him, but blinds itself, and goes continually from bad to worse, until at last, after idolatry, it commits the most shameful sins, with all the vices, and is not ashamed, and allows others to do these things unrebuked.

In chapter ii, he stretches this rebuke still farther and extends it to those who seem outwardly to be righteous, but commit sin in secret. Such were the Jews and such are all the hypocrites, who, without desire or love for the law of God, lead good lives, but hate God's law in their hearts, and yet are prone to judge other people. It is the nature of all the hypocrites to think themselves pure, and yet be full of covetousness, hatred, pride, and all uncleanness (Matthew 23: 25, 27 xxiii). These are they who despise God's goodness and in their hardness heap wrath upon themselves. Thus St. Paul, as a true interpreter of the law, leaves no one without sin, but proclaims the wrath of God upon all who live good lives from nature or free will, and makes them appear no better than open sinners; indeed he says that they are hardened and unrepentant.

† In chapter iii, he puts them all together in a heap, and says that one is like the other; they are all sinners before God, except that the Jews have had God's Word. Not many have believed on it, to be sure, but that does not mean that the faith and truth of God are exhausted; and he quotes a saying from Psalm li, that God remains righteous in His words. Afterwards he comes back to this again and proves by Scripture that they are all sinners and that by the works of the law no man is justified, but that the law was given only that sin might be known.

Then he begins to teach the right way by which men must be justified and saved, and says, They are all sinners and without praise from God, but they must be justified, without merit, through faith in Christ, who has earned this for us by His blood, and has been made for us a mercy-seat by

God, Who forgives us all former sins, proving thereby that were we aided only by His righteousness, which He gives in faith, which is revealed in this time through the Gospel and "testified before by the law and the prophets." Thus the law is set up by faith, though the works of the law are put down by it, together with the reputation that they give.

After the first three chapters, in which sin is revealed and faith's way to righteousness is taught, he begins, in chapter iv, to meet certain objections. And first he takes up the one that all men commonly make when they hear of faith, that it justifies, without works. They say, "Are men, then, to do no good works?" Therefore he himself takes up the case of Abraham, and asks, "What did Abraham accomplish, then, with his good works? Were they all in vain? Were his works of no use?" He concludes that Abraham was justified by faith alone, without any works; nay, the Scriptures, in Genesis xv, declare that he was justified by faith alone, even before the work of circumcision. But if the work of circumcision contributed nothing to his righteousness, though God commanded it and it was a good work of obedience; then, surely, no other good work will contribute anything to righteousness. On the other hand, if Abraham's circumcision was an external sign by which he showed the righteousness that was already his in faith, then all good works are only external signs which follow out of faith, and show, like good fruit, that a man is already inwardly righteous before God.

With this powerful illustration, out of the Scriptures, St. Paul establishes the doctrine of faith which he had taught before, in chapter iii. He also brings forward another witness, viz, David, in Psalm xxxii, who says that a man is justified without works, although he does not remain without works when he has been justified. Then he gives the illustration a broader application, and concludes that the Jews cannot be Abraham's heirs merely because of their blood, still less because of the works of the law, but must be heirs of Abraham's faith, if they would be true heirs. For before the law—either the law of Moses or the law of cir-

Faith
Without
Works

Gen. 15:

Ps. 32:

cumcision—Abraham was justified by faith and called the father of believers; moreover, the law works wrath rather than grace, because no one keeps it out of love for it and pleasure in it,³ so that what comes by the works of the law is disgrace rather than grace. Therefore faith alone must obtain the grace promised to Abraham, for these examples were written for our sakes, that we, too, should believe.

**The
Fruits
of Faith**

In chapter v, he comes to the fruits and works of faith, such as peace, joy, love to God and to every man, and confidence, boldness, joy, courage, and hope in tribulation and suffering. For all this follows, if faith be true, because of the over-abundant goodness that God shows us in Christ, so that He caused Him to die for us before we could ask it, nay, while we were still His enemies. Thus we have it that faith justifies without any works; and yet it does not follow that men are, therefore, to do no good works, but rather that the true works will not be absent. Of these the work-righteous saints know nothing, but feign works of their own in which there is no peace, joy, confidence, love, hope, boldness, nor any of the qualities of true Christian works and faith.

**Adam and
Christ**

After this, he breaks out, and makes a pleasant excursion, and tells whence come both sin and righteousness, death and life, and compares Adam and Christ. He says that Christ had to come, a second Adam, to bequeath His righteousness to us, through a new spiritual birth in faith, as the first Adam bequeathed sin to us, through the old, fleshly birth. Thus he declares, and confirms it, that no one, by his own works, can help himself out of sin into righteousness, any more than he can prevent the birth of his own body. This is proved by the fact that the divine law—which ought to help to righteousness, if anything can—has not only not helped, but has even increased sin; for the reason that the more the law forbids, the more our evil nature hates it, and the more it wants to give rein to its own lust. Thus the law makes Christ all the more necessary, and more grace is needed to help our nature.

**Spirit and
Flesh**

In chapter vi, he takes up the special work of faith, the conflict of the spirit with the flesh, for the complete slaying

of the sin and lust that remain after we are justified. He teaches us that by faith we are not so freed from sin that we can be idle, slack, and careless, as though there were no longer any sin in us. There is sin; but it is no longer counted for condemnation, because of the faith that strives against it. Therefore we have enough to do all our life long in taming the body, slaying its lusts, and compelling its members to obey the spirit and not the lusts, thus making our lives like the death and resurrection of Christ and completing our baptism²—which signifies the death of sin and the new life of grace—until we are entirely pure of sins, and even our bodies rise again with Christ and live forever.

And that we can do, he says, because we are in grace and not in the law. He himself explains that to mean that to be without the law is not the same thing as to have no laws and be able to do what one pleases; but we are under the law when, without grace, we occupy ourselves in the work of the law. Then sin assuredly rules by the law, for no one loves the law by nature; and that is great sin. Grace, however, makes the law dear to us, and then sin is no more there, and the law is no longer against us, but with us.

This is the true freedom from sin and the law, of which he writes, down to the end of this chapter, saying that it is liberty only to do good with pleasure and live a good life without the compulsion of the law. Therefore this liberty is a spiritual liberty, which does not abolish the law, but presents what the law demands; namely, pleasure and love.³ Thus the law is quieted, and no longer drives men or makes demands of them. It is just as if you owed a debt to your overlord and could not pay it. There are two ways in which you could rid yourself of the debt,—either he would take nothing from you and would tear up the account; or some good man would pay it for you, and give you the means to satisfy the account. It is in this latter way that Christ has made us free from the law. Our liberty is, therefore, no fleshly liberty, which is not obligated to do anything, but a liberty that does many works of all kinds, and thus is free from the demands and the debts of the law.

The
Liberty
of Faith

In chapter vii, he supports this with a parable of the married life. When a man dies, his wife is single, and thus the one is released from the other; not that the wife cannot or ought not take another husband, but rather that she is now really free to take another, which she could not do before she was free from her husband. So our conscience is bound to the law, under the old man; when he is slain by the Spirit, then the conscience is free; the one is released from the other; not that the conscience is to do nothing, but rather that it is now really free to cleave to Christ, the second husband, and bring forth the fruit of life.

**Sin and
the Law**

Then he sketches out more broadly the nature of sin and the law, showing how, by means of the law sin now moves and is mighty. The old man hates the law the more because he cannot pay what the law demands, for sin is his nature and by himself he can do nothing but sin; therefore the law is death to him, and torment. Not that the law is bad, but his evil nature cannot endure the good, and the law demands good of him. So a sick man cannot endure it when he is required to run and jump and do the works of a well man.

**II Cor.
3:13f**

Therefore St. Paul here concludes that the law, rightly understood and thoroughly comprehended, does nothing more than remind us of our sin, and slay us by it, and make us liable to eternal wrath; and all this is taught and experienced by our conscience, when it is really smitten by the law. Therefore a man must have something else than the law, and more than the law, to make him righteous and save him. But they who do not rightly understand the law are blind; they go ahead, in their presumption, and think to satisfy the law with their works, not knowing what the law demands, viz., a willing and happy heart. Therefore they do not see Moses clearly, the veil is put between them and him, and covers him.

**The
Strife
Within**

Then he shows how spirit and flesh strive with one another in a man. He uses himself as an example, in order that we may learn rightly to understand the work of slaying sin within us. He calls both spirit and flesh "laws," for just

as it is the nature of the divine law to drive men and make demands of them, so the flesh drives men and makes demands and rages against the spirit, and will have its own way. The spirit, too, drives men and makes demands contrary to the flesh, and will have its own way. This contention within us lasts as long as we live, though in one man it is greater, in another less, according as spirit or flesh is stronger. Nevertheless, the whole man is both spirit and flesh and he fights with himself until he becomes wholly spiritual.

In chapter viii, he encourages these fighters, telling them not to condemn the flesh; and he shows further what the nature of flesh and spirit is, and how the spirit comes from Christ, Who has given us His Holy Spirit to make us spiritual and subdue the flesh. He assures us that we are still God's children, however hard sin may rage within us, so long as we follow the spirit and resist sin, to slay it. Since, however, nothing else is so good for the mortifying of the flesh as the cross and suffering, he comforts us in suffering with the support of the Spirit of love, and of the whole creation. For the Spirit sighs within us and the creation longs with us that we may be rid of the flesh and of sin. So we see that these three chapters (vi-viii) deal with the one work of faith, which is to slay the old Adam and subdue the flesh. Rom. 8: 23f

In chapters ix, x, and xi, he teaches concerning God's eternal predestination, from which it originally comes that one believes or not, is rid of sin or not rid of it. Thus our becoming righteous is taken entirely out of our hands and put in the hand of God. And that is most highly necessary. We are so weak and uncertain that, if it were in our power, surely not one man would be saved, the devil would surely overpower us all; but since God is certain, and His predestination cannot fail, and no one can withstand Him, we still have hope against sin. Pre-destination

And here we must set a boundary for those audacious and high-climbing spirits, who first bring their own thinking to this matter and begin at the top to search the abyss of divine predestination, and worry in vain about whether they are

predestinate. They must have a fall; either they will despair, or else they will take long risks.⁴

But do you follow the order of this epistle. Worry first about Christ and the Gospel, that you may recognize your sin and His grace; then fight your sin, as the first eight chapters here have taught; then, when you have reached the eighth chapter, and are under the cross and suffering, that will teach you the right doctrine of predestination, in the ninth, tenth and eleventh chapters, and how comforting it is. For in the absence of suffering and the cross and the danger of death, one cannot deal with predestination without harm and without secret wrath against God. The old Adam must die before he can endure this subject and drink the strong wine of it. Therefore beware not to drink wine while you are still a suckling. There is a limit, a time, an age for every doctrine.

**Christian
Conduct**

In chapter xii, he teaches what true worship is; and he makes all Christians priests, who are to offer not money and cattle, as under the law, but their own bodies, with a slaying of the lusts. Then he describes the outward conduct of Christians, under spiritual government, telling how they are to teach, preach, rule, serve, give, suffer, love, live, and act toward friend, foe and all men. These are the works that a Christian does; for, as has been said, faith takes no holidays.

In chapter xiii, he teaches honor and obedience to worldly government, which accomplishes much, although it does not make its people righteous before God. It is instituted in order that the good may have outward peace and protection, and that the wicked may not be free to do evil, without fear, in peace and quietness. Therefore the righteous are to honor it, though they do not need it. In the end he comprises it all in love, and includes it in the example of Christ, Who has done for us what we also are to do, following in His footsteps.

In chapter xiv, he teaches that weak consciences are to be led gently in faith and to be spared, so that Christians are

not to use their liberty for doing harm, but for the furtherance of the weak. If that is not done, then discord follows and contempt for the Gospel; and the Gospel is the all-important thing. Thus it is better to yield a little to the weak in faith, until they grow stronger, than to have the doctrine of the Gospel come to nought. This is a peculiar work of love, for which there is great need even now, when with meat-eating and other liberties, men are rudely and roughly shaking weak consciences, before they know the truth.

In chapter xv, he sets up the example of Christ, to show that we are to suffer those who are weak in other ways,—those whose weakness lies in open sins or in displeasing habits. These men are not to be cast off, but borne with till they grow better. For so Christ has done to us, and still does every day; He bears with our many faults and bad habits, and with all our imperfections, and helps us constantly.

Then, at the end, he prays for them, praises them and commends them to God; he speaks of his office and his preaching, and asks them gently for a contribution to the poor at Jerusalem; all that he speaks of or deals with is pure love.

The last chapter is a chapter of greetings, but he mingles with them a noble warning against doctrines of men, which are put in alongside the doctrine of the Gospel and cause offense. It is as though he had foreseen that out of Rome and through the Romans would come the seductive and offensive canons and decretals and the whole squirming mass of human laws and commandments, which have now drowned the whole world and wiped out this Epistle and all the Holy Scriptures, along with the Spirit and with faith, so that nothing has remained there except the idol, Belly, whose servants St. Paul here rebukes. God release us from them. Amen.

The
Doctrines
of Men

Thus in this Epistle we find most richly the things that a Christian ought to know; namely, what is law, Gospel, sin,

punishment, grace, faith, righteousness, Christ, God, good works, love, hope, the cross, and also how we are to conduct ourselves toward everyone, whether righteous or sinner, strong or weak, friend or foe. All this is ably founded on Scripture and proved by his own example and that of the prophets. Therefore it appears that St. Paul wanted to comprise briefly in this one epistle the whole Christian and evangelical doctrine and to prepare an introduction to the entire Old Testament; for, without doubt, he who has this epistle well in his heart, has the light and power of the Old Testament with him. Therefore let every Christian exercise himself in it habitually and continually. To this may God give His grace. Amen.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EPISTLE OF
SAINT PAUL TO THE CORINTHIANS

1545*

In this Epistle, St. Paul exhorts the Corinthians to be one in faith and love and be careful to learn the chief thing, at which all reason and wisdom stumbles; namely, that Christ is our salvation.

In our day, when the Gospel has come to light, there are many mad saints,—called spirits of sedition,* fanatics, and heretics, who have become wise and learned all too quickly, and, because of their great knowledge and wisdom, cannot live in harmony with anybody. One wants to go this way, another that way; as though it would be a great shame, if everyone were not to try something of his own and to put forth his own wisdom. No one can make them see their folly, for, at bottom, they neither know nor understand anything about the really important matters, even though they jabber much about them with their mouths.

So it was with St. Paul, too. He had taught his Corinthians the Christian faith and freedom from the law; but the

mad saints came along, and the unripe wise men; they split the unity of the doctrine and made a division among the believers. One would be a Paulist, another an Appollist, another a Petrist, another a Christist; one wanted circumcision, another not; one wanted marriage, another not; one wanted to eat meat sacrificed to idols, another not; some wanted to be free from slavery; some of the women wanted to go with uncovered hair, and so on. They carried it so far that one man abused his liberty and married his stepmother; some did not believe in the resurrection of the dead; some thought lightly of the Sacrament. Things got so wild and disorderly that everyone wanted to be master and to teach, and make what he pleased of the Gospel, the Sacrament and faith. Meanwhile, they let the main thing go, as though it were long since worn out;—namely, that Christ is our salvation, our righteousness, our redemption. This truth can never hold the road, when people begin to be knowing and wise.

That is just what is now happening to us. Now that we, by God's grace have opened the Gospel to the Germans, everyone wants to be the best master and have the Holy Ghost all to himself, as though the Gospel had been preached in order that we should show our cleverness and reason, and seek for reputation. These Corinthians may well be an example for our people in these days, for they, too, need such an epistle. But this is the way things have to go with the Gospel; mad saints and unripe wise-men have to start disturbances and offences, so that the "approved," as St. Paul says, may be manifest.

Therefore St. Paul rebukes and condemns this dangerous wisdom most severely and makes fools of these saucy saints. He says outright that they know nothing of Christ, or of the spirit and gifts of God, given to us in Christ, and that they should begin to learn. There must be spiritual folk who understand it. The desire to be wise and the pretense of cleverness in the Gospel are the things that really give offense and hinder the knowledge of Christ and God, and start disturbances and contentions. This clever wisdom and reason

can well serve to make mad saints and wild Christians; but they can never, never know our Lord Christ, unless they first become fools again, and humbly let themselves be taught and led by the simple Word of God. This is what he deals with in the first four chapters.

In chapter v, he rebukes the gross unchastity of the man who had married his stepmother, and would put him under the ban and give him over to the devil. Thus he shows the right way of using the ban;⁷ it must be laid upon open vice, with the consent of the believing congregation, as Christ also teaches in Matthew xviii.

Matt.
18: 17

In chapter vi, he rebukes contention and disputing before the courts, especially before heathen and unbelievers; and teaches them that they shall either settle their cases among themselves or suffer wrong.

In chapter vii, he gives instruction concerning chastity and the wedded state. He praises chastity and virginity, saying that they are profitable for the better attending to the Gospel; as Christ also teaches, in Matthew xix, concerning the chaste who are chaste for the sake of the Gospel or the kingdom of heaven. But Paul wills that it shall not be forced or compulsory, and that it shall not be kept at the risk of greater sin; otherwise, marriage is better than a chastity which is a continual burning.

Matt.
19: 12

In chapters viii to xii, he discusses, in many ways, how weak consciences are to be led and how men are to conduct themselves in external matters, like eating, drinking, apparel, and taking the Sacrament. Everywhere he forbids the strong to despise the weak, since he himself, though he is an apostle, has refrained from many things to which he had a right. Moreover the strong may well be afraid, because, in ancient Israel, so many were destroyed of those who were brought out of Egypt with miracles. Alongside of this, he makes some digressions of wholesome doctrine.

In chapters xii and xiii, he discusses the many different gifts of God, among which love is the best, and teaches them not to exalt themselves but to serve one another in unity of

spirit, because there is one God, one Lord, one Spirit, and everything is one, no matter how much diversity there is.

In chapter xiv, he teaches the preachers, prophets, and singers to use their gifts in an orderly manner and only for edification, and not put forward their sermons, knowledge, and understanding to gain honor for themselves.

In chapter xv, he rebukes those who had taught and believed wrongly concerning the resurrection of the flesh.

In the last chapter he exhorts them to brotherly assistance of the needy with temporal support.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EPISTLE OF SAINT PAUL TO THE CORINTHIANS

1522

In the First Epistle, St. Paul rebuked the Corinthians severely for many things, and poured sharp wine into the wounds, and terrified them. But an apostle should be a preacher of comfort, to raise up terrified and fearful consciences, rather than to frighten them. Therefore, in this Epistle, he praises them once more, and pours oil into their wounds, and shows himself wonderfully kind to them, and bids them receive the sinner back with love.

In chapters i and ii, he shows his love toward them, how all that he said, did, and suffered was for their profit and good, and how they ought to trust him for the best.

After that, he praises the office of the Gospel, which is the highest and most comforting of all works and is for the profit and good of men's consciences. He shows how it is nobler than the office of the law, and how it is persecuted, and yet increases among believers, and produces, through the Cross, a hope of eternal glory. But with all this he touches the false apostles, who were concerned with the law, rather than the Gospel, and taught mere outward holiness, which is hypocrisy,

and allowed the inner shame of unbelief to continue. This he does in chapters iii, iv and v.

In chapters vi and vii, he exhorts them to obey this preaching with works and sufferings, and concludes by praising them, so that he may incite them to go forward in it.

In chapters viii and ix, he exhorts them to contribute temporal support and help, in a time of scarcity, to the saints in Jerusalem, who, at the beginning, had given up all their goods.

In chapters x, xi and xii, he deals with the false apostles.

In chapter xiii, he threatens those who had sinned and not reformed.

PREFACE TO THE EPISTLE OF SAINT PAUL TO THE GALATIANS

·1522

The Galatians had been brought by St. Paul from the law to the true Christian faith and the Gospel; but after his departure, false apostles came, who were disciples of the true apostles, and turned the Galatians about again, so that they believed that they had to be saved by the works of the Law and that they committed sin if they did not keep the Law, as even some high persons in Jerusalem pretended

Acts 15: 1 (Acts xv).

To refute them, St. Paul magnifies his office and will not have himself considered less than another apostle and glories in the fact that his doctrine and office are from God alone. He does this to stop the boasting of the false apostles, who supported themselves with the works and names of the true apostles. He says, it is not true, even though an angel, or even he himself were to preach it, to say nothing of disciples of apostles, or of apostles themselves.

This he does in chapters i and ii, and concludes that everyone must be justified without merit, without works, without law, but only through Christ.

In chapters iii and iv, he defends all this with passages of Scripture and illustrations and parables, and shows that the law brings sin and a curse, rather than righteousness, which is promised by God out of pure grace, and is fulfilled through Christ without the law, and given to us.

In chapters v and vi, he teaches the works of love that ought to follow faith.

PREFACE TO THE EPISTLE OF SAINT PAUL TO THE EPHESIANS

1522

In this Epistle, St. Paul teaches, first, what the Gospel is, telling how it was provided by God alone in eternity and earned and sent forth through Christ, so that all who believe on it become righteous, godly, living, saved men, and free from the law and sin and death. This he does in the first three chapters.

Then he teaches that different doctrines and the commandments of men are to be avoided, so that we may remain true to one Head and become sure and genuine and complete in Christ alone, in Whom we have everything, so that we need nothing beside Him. This he does in chapter iv.

Then he goes on to teach that we are to practice and prove our faith with good works, avoid sin, and fight with spiritual weapons against the devil, so that, through the Cross, we may be steadfast in hope.

PREFACE TO THE EPISTLE OF SAINT PAUL TO THE PHILIPPIANS

1522

In this Epistle St. Paul praises the Philippians and exhorts them to abide and go forward in true faith and to increase in love. But since injury is always done to faith by false

apostles and teachers of works, he warns them against these men, and points them to many preachers,—some good, some bad,—including even himself and his disciples, Timothy and Epaphroditus. This he does in chapters i and ii.

In chapter iii, he rejects the faithless and human righteousness that is taught and held by the false apostles, and holds himself up as an example of one who had lived a glorious life in this righteousness, and yet thought nothing of it, because of the righteousness of Christ. For that other righteousness makes the belly its god, and makes enemies of the cross of Christ.

In chapter iv, he exhorts them to peace and to good outward conduct toward one another; and he thanks them for the present they have sent him.

PREFACE TO THE EPISTLE OF SAINT PAUL TO THE COLOSSIANS

1522

As the Epistle to the Galatians resembles and is modeled on the Epistle to the Romans, and comprises in outline the same material that is farther and more richly developed there; so this Epistle resembles that to the Ephesians and comprises in outline the same contents.

First, he praises the Colossians, and hopes that they may abide and increase in faith and love. He sketches out what the Gospel and faith are; namely, a wisdom which recognizes Christ as Lord and God, crucified for us, concealed from the world, but now manifested through His work. That is chapter i.

In chapter ii, he warns them against the doctrines of men, which are always contrary to faith and depicts these doctrines as they are depicted nowhere else in Scripture, and criticises them in masterly fashion.

In chapter iii, he exhorts them to be fruitful in the pure

faith, doing all sorts of good works for one another; and he describes the works that belong to each station in life.

In chapter iv, he commends himself to their prayers, and gives them greetings and encouragement.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EPISTLE OF SAINT PAUL TO THE THESSALONIANS

1522

This Epistle St. Paul writes out of especial love and apostolic care. For in the first two chapters, he praises them because they have received the Gospel from him with such earnestness as to be steadfast in it through affliction and persecution, and to have become a fair example of faith to all congregations everywhere, and, like Christ and His apostles, to have suffered persecution from the Jews, their own friends. So he had himself suffered and led a holy life when he was with them. Therefore he thanks God that his Gospel has borne such fruit among them.

In chapter iii, he shows the diligent care he takes, lest this labor of his and its praiseworthy beginning be brought to nought by the devil, with doctrines of men. Therefore he has sent Timothy to them to find this out, and he thanks God that things are still right among them; and he hopes that they may continue to grow.

In chapter iv, he exhorts them to guard against sin and do good to one another. He also answers a question, which they had presented to him through Timothy, touching the resurrection of the dead, whether all would rise at once, or some after others.

In chapter v, he writes of the Last Day, how it shall come suddenly and quickly, and gives them some good directions for governing other people, and tells them what attitude they are to take toward the lives and teachings of others.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EPISTLE OF
SAINT PAUL TO THE THESSALONIANS

1522

In the First Epistle, Paul had solved for the Thessalonians the question of the Last Day, telling them that it would come quickly, as a thief in the night. Now it is wont to happen that one question always gives birth to another, because of misunderstanding; and so the Thessalonians understood that the Last Day was already close at hand. Thereupon, Paul writes this epistle and explains himself.

In chapter i, he comforts them with the eternal reward that will come to their faith and their patience in afflictions of every kind, and with the punishment that will come to their persecutors in eternal pain.

In chapter ii, he teaches that before the Last Day, the Roman Empire must pass away and Antichrist rise up before God in the Church, and seduce the unbelieving world with false doctrines and signs until Christ shall come and destroy him by His glorious advent, first slaying him with spiritual preaching.

In chapter iii, he gives some admonitions, especially that they shall rebuke the idlers, who will not support themselves by their own labor, and if they will not reform, that they shall avoid them; and this is a hard rebuke to the clergy of today.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EPISTLE OF
SAINT PAUL TO TIMOTHY

1522

This Epistle Paul writes to give a model to all bishops of what they are to teach and how they are to rule the Church in every station, so that it may not be necessary for them to rule Christians according to their own human opinions.

In chapter i, he commands that a bishop keep true faith and love and resist the false preachers of the law who, beside Christ and the Gospel, would also insist on the works of the law; and he includes, in a brief summary, the whole Christian doctrine concerning the purpose of the law and the nature of the Gospel; and he sets himself up as an example to all sinners and troubled consciences.

In chapter ii, he commands to pray for men of all stations, and orders that women are not to preach or wear costly adornment, but be obedient to their husbands.

In chapter iii, he describes the kind of persons that bishops, or priests, and their wives ought to be, also the deacons and their wives, and praises those who desire to be bishops of this kind.

In chapter iv, he prophesies of the class of false bishops and clergy, opposed to those spoken of above, who will not be persons of that kind, but will forbid marriage and foods and, with their doctrines of men, will aim at the very opposite of the things he has described.

In chapter v, he gives commands concerning the conduct of widows and young women, and tells what widows are to be supported from the common funds; also how godly and blameworthy bishops, or priests, are to be held in honor or punished.

In chapter vi, he exhorts the bishops to cleave to the pure Gospel, to concern themselves with it in their preaching and their living, and to avoid unprofitable and curious questions, which are put forward only in search for worldly reputation and riches.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EPISTLE OF SAINT PAUL TO TIMOTHY

1522

This Epistle is a farewell letter, in which St. Paul exhorts Timothy to continue laboring for the Gospel, as he has

begun. This is needful, since there are many who fall away, and false spirits and teachers are rising all around. Therefore it behooves a bishop always to watch, and to work at the Gospel.

But he prophesies especially, in chapters iii and iv, concerning the perilous time at the end of the world, in which a false spiritual life will lead all the world astray with an outward show, under which all kinds of wickedness and wrong will have its being; and, sad to say! we now see this prophecy of St. Paul all too abundantly fulfilled in our clergy.

PREFACE TO THE EPISTLE OF SAINT PAUL TO TITUS

1522

This is a short Epistle, but a model of Christian doctrine, in which is included, in masterly fashion, all that it is necessary for a Christian to know and live by.

In chapter i, he teaches what kind of man a bishop, or pastor, ought to be; namely, one who is pious and learned, in order to preach the Gospel and bring to nought the teachers of works and human laws, who always war against the Christians and lead consciences astray from Christian liberty, into the captivity of their human works, as though these would make them righteous before God, when there is really no profit in them.

In chapter ii, he teaches men of every station—the old, the young, women, men, masters and servants—how they are to act, as those whom Christ, by His death, has won for His own possession.

In chapter iii, he teaches to honor the worldly rulers and obey them, and declares again the grace that Christ has won for us, so that no one may think it enough to be obedient to rulers, since all our righteousness is nothing before God; and he commands to avoid the obdurate and heretics.

PREFACE TO THE EPISTLE OF SAINT PAUL
TO PHILEMON

1522

This Epistle gives us a masterly and tender illustration of Christian love; for here we see how St. Paul takes the part of poor Onesimus and advocates his cause with his master all that he can, and acts no differently than if he were himself Onesimus, who has done wrong. And yet he does this, not with force or compulsion, as was his right, but he lays aside his rights and thus compels Philemon, also, to waive his rights. What Christ has done for us with God the Father, that St. Paul does for Onesimus with Philemon. For Christ laid aside His rights and overcame His Father with love and humility, so that He had to put away His wrath and His rights and receive us into favor, for Christ's sake, who so earnestly advocates our cause and takes our part so tenderly. For we are all his Onesimi, if we believe.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EPISTLE
OF SAINT PETER

1522

This Epistle St. Peter wrote to the converted heathen, and exhorts them to stand fast in faith and to increase through all manner of suffering and good works.

In chapter i, he strengthens their faith through the divine promise and the power of salvation to come, and shows that this has not been deserved by us but was proclaimed before by the prophets. Therefore they ought now to live holy lives, as new creatures, and forget the old life, like men who are born anew through the living and eternal Word of God.

In chapter ii, he teaches them to recognize Christ as the Head and Corner-stone and, like true priests, to sacrifice

themselves to God, as Christ sacrificed Himself, and begins to give instruction to all classes of men. First, he teaches generally to be in subjection to temporal rulership; afterwards he teaches particularly that servants are to be subject to their masters and suffer wrong from them for Christ's sake, who also suffered wrong for us.

In chapter iii, he teaches wives to be obedient, even to unbelieving husbands, and to adorn themselves with holiness; likewise, that husbands are to be patient with their wives and bear with them; and then that Christians, in general, are to be humble and patient and kind to one another, as Christ was because of our sins.

In chapter iv, he teaches to subdue the flesh, with sobriety, watching, temperance and prayer, and to be comforted and strengthened with Christ's sufferings; and he instructs the spiritual rulers to deal only with God's words and works, and everyone to serve another with his gifts, and not wonder, but rejoice, if we have to suffer for Christ's sake.

In chapter v, he exhorts the bishops and priests how they are to live and care for the people, and warns us against the devil, who without ceasing pursues us everywhere.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EPISTLE OF SAINT PETER

1522

This Epistle is written against those who think that Christian faith can be without works. Therefore he exhorts them to test themselves by good works and become sure of their faith,—as one knows trees by their fruit. Then he begins to praise the Gospel, as compared with doctrines of men, saying that men ought to hear only it, and no doctrines of men; for, as he says, "No prophecy ever came by the will of man."

Therefore, in chapter ii, he warns against the false teachers

who are to come, who go about with their works, and thereby deny Christ. He threatens these men severely, with three terrible illustrations, and paints them so clearly, with their avarice, pride, audacity, fornication and hypocrisy, that one must plainly see he means the clergy of today, who have swallowed the whole world in their avarice, and lead a free, fleshly, worldly life.

In chapter iii, he shows that the Last Day will come soon and though in the eyes of men it may seem a thousand years, yet in the eyes of God it is as one day. He describes what will happen at the Last Day, how everything shall be consumed with fire. He prophesies also that, at that time, people will be scornful, and think nothing of faith, like the Epicureans.

Briefly, chapter i shows what the Church should be like at the time of the pure Gospel; chapter ii shows how it was to be in the time of the pope and the doctrines of men: chapter iii shows how, afterwards, people will despise both the Gospel and all doctrine, and believe nothing, and that is now in full swing, until Christ comes.

PREFACE TO THE THREE EPISTLES OF SAINT JOHN

1522

The First Epistle of John is a genuine apostolic epistle and ought properly to follow right after his Gospel. For as, in the Gospel, he deals with faith, so here he opposes those who boast of faith without works, and teaches in many ways that works cannot be absent, where faith is; if they are not present, then faith is not genuine, but is lies and darkness. This he does, not by insisting upon the law, as James' Epistle does, but by inciting us to love as God has loved us.

He also writes vigorously against the Cerinthians,* and against the spirit of Antichrist, which was beginning even

then to deny that Christ was come in the flesh, and which is now for the first time really in full sway. For although men do not now publicly deny with the lips that Christ is come in the flesh, they do deny it with their hearts, by their doctrine and life. For he who would be righteous and be saved by his own works and deeds does the same as he who denies Christ, since Christ is come in the flesh in order to make us righteous and save us without our works, by His blood alone.

Thus this Epistle fights against both parties,—against those who would be in faith without any works, and against those who would be righteous and be saved with works. So it keeps us in the true middle way, that we may become righteous and free from sin through faith, and afterwards, when we are righteous, practice good works and love for God's sake, freely and without seeking anything.

The other two Epistles are not epistles of doctrine, but examples of love and faith, and have, besides, a true apostolic spirit.

PREFACE TO THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS

1522

Hitherto we have had the right certain chief books of the New Testament. The four following had, in ancient times, a different reputation.³⁰ In the first place, that this Epistle is not St. Paul's, nor any other apostle's is proved by the fact that it says, in chapter ij, that this doctrine has come to us and remains among us through those who themselves heard it from the Lord. Thus it is clear that he speaks of the apostles as a disciple to whom this doctrine has come from the apostles, perhaps long after them. For St. Paul, in Galatians i, testifies mightily that he has his Gospel from no man, neither through men, but from God Himself.

Again, there is a hard knot in the fact that in chapters vi and x it flatly denies and forbids to sinners repentance after baptism, and in chapter xii, it says that Esau sought repen-

tance and did not find it. This seems, as it stands, to be against all the Gospels and St. Paul's epistles; and although one might make a glossⁿ on it, the words are so clear that I do not know whether that would be sufficient. My opinion is that it is an epistle of many pieces put together, and it does not deal with any one subject in an orderly way.

However that may be, it is a marvellously fine epistle. It discusses Christ's priesthood masterfully and thoroughly, out of the Scriptures, and interprets the Old Testament finely and richly. Thus it is plain that it is the work of an able and learned man, who was a disciple of the apostles, learned much from them, and was greatly experienced in faith and practiced in the Scriptures. And although, as he himself testifies in chapter vi, he does not lay the foundation of Heb. 6: 1 faith, which is the work of an apostle, nevertheless he does build finely thereon gold, silver, precious stones, as St. Paul says in I Corinthians iii. Therefore we should not be hin- I Cor. 3: 12 dered, even though wood, straw or hay be mixed in with them, but accept this fine teaching with all honor; though to be sure, we cannot put it on the same level with the apostolic epistles.

Who wrote it is not known, and will not be known for a while; it makes no difference. We should be satisfied with the doctrine that he bases so constantly on the Scriptures, showing a right fine grasp upon the reading of the Scriptures and the proper way to deal with them.

PREFACE TO THE EPISTLES OF SAINT JAMES AND SAINT JUDE

1545 (1522)

Though this Epistle of St. James was rejected by the ancients,ⁿ I praise it and hold it a good book, because it sets up no doctrine of men and lays great stress upon God's law. But to state my own opinion about it, though without injury

to anyone, I consider that it is not the writing of any apostle. My reasons are as follows.

First: Flatly against St. Paul and all the rest of Scripture, Jas. 2: 21 it ascribes righteousness to works, and says that Abraham was justified by his works, in that he offered his son Isaac, Rom. 4: 2f though St. Paul, on the contrary, teaches, in Romans iv, that Abraham was justified without works, by faith alone, before Gen. 15: 6 he offered his son, and proves it by Moses in Genesis xv. Now although this Epistle might be helped and a gloss³³ be found for this work-righteousness, it cannot be defended Gen. 15: 6 against applying to works the saying of Moses in Genesis xv, which speaks only of Abraham's faith, and not of his works, Rom. 4: 3 as St. Paul shows in Romans iv. This fault, therefore, leads to the conclusion that it is not the work of any apostle.

Second: Its purpose is to teach Christians, and in all this long teaching it does not once mention the Passion, the Resurrection, or the Spirit of Christ. He names Christ several times, but he teaches nothing about Him, and only speaks of common faith in God. For it is the duty of a true apostle to preach of the Passion and Resurrection and work³⁴ of Christ, and thus lay the foundation of faith, as He Himself says, in John xv, "Ye shall bear witness of me." All the genuine sacred books agree in this, that all of them preach Christ and deal with Him.³⁵ That is the true test, by which to judge all books, when we see whether they deal with Christ John 15: 27 or not, since all the Scriptures show us Christ (Romans iii), Rom. 3: 21 and St. Paul will know nothing but Christ (I Corinthians xv). What does not teach Christ is not apostolic, even I Cor. 15: 2 though St. Peter or Paul taught it; again, what preaches Christ would be apostolic, even though Judas, Annas, Pilate and Herod did it.

But this James does nothing more than drive to the law and its works; and he mixes the two up in such disorderly fashion that it seems to me he must have been some good, pious man, who took some sayings of the apostles' disciples and threw them thus on paper; or perhaps they were written down by someone else from his preaching. He calls the law

a "law of liberty," though St. Paul calls it a law of slavery, Gal. 3: 23f of wrath, of death and of sin (Galatians iii; Romans vii). Rom. 7: 11, 23

Moreover, in chapter v, he quotes the sayings of St. Peter, Jas. 5: 20 "Love covereth the multitude of sins" (I Peter iv) and I Pet. 4: 8 "Humble yourselves under the hand of God" (I Peter v), I Pet. 5: 6 and of St. Paul (Galatians v), "The Spirit lusteth against Gal. 5: 17 hatred";³⁸ and yet, in point of time, St. James was put to death by Herod, in Jerusalem, before St. Peter. So it seems that he came long after Sts. Peter and Paul.

In a word, he wants to guard against those who relied on faith without works, and is unequal to the task [in spirit, thought, and words, and rends the Scriptures and thereby resists Paul and all Scripture],³⁹ and would accomplish by insisting on the Law what the apostles accomplish by inciting men to love. Therefore,⁴⁰ I cannot put him among the chief books, though I would not thereby prevent anyone from putting him where he pleases and estimating him as he pleases; for there are many good sayings in him.

Concerning the Epistle of St. Jude, no one can deny that it is an extract or copy from St. Peter's second epistle, so very like it are all the words. He also speaks of the apostles as a disciple coming long after them, and quotes sayings and stories that are found nowhere in the Scriptures. This moved the ancient Fathers to throw this Epistle out of the main body of the Scriptures. Moreover, Jude, the Apostle, did not go to Greek-speaking lands, but to Persia, as it is said, so that he did not write Greek. Therefore, although I praise the book, it is an epistle that need not be counted among the chief books, which are to lay the foundation of faith.

PREFACE TO THE REVELATION OF SAINT JOHN (I)

1545

There are many kinds of prophecy in the Church. One is Different Kinds of Prophecy prophecy which interprets the writings of the prophets. Paul

speaks of it in I Corinthians xii and xiv, and in other places. This is the most necessary kind and we must have it every day, because it teaches the Word of God, lays the foundation of the Church, and defends the faith; in a word, it rules, preserves, establishes and administers the preaching-office.

Another kind foretells things to come which are not previously contained in Scripture, and this prophecy is of three sorts. The first does it in express words, without symbols and figures. So Moses, David, and more of the prophets prophesy of Christ, and Christ and the apostles prophesy of Antichrist, false teachers, etc. The second sort does this with symbols, but sets alongside them their interpretation in express words. So Joseph interprets dreams and Daniel both dreams and symbols. The third sort of prophecy does it without either words or interpretations, like this book of Revelation and like the dreams, visions and symbols that

Acts 2: 17 many holy people have from the Holy Spirit. So in Acts ii, Peter proclaims, out of Joel, "Your sons and daughters shall prophesy, and your youths shall see visions, and your elders dream dreams." So long as this kind of prophecy remains without explanation and gets no sure interpretation, it is a concealed and dumb prophecy, and has not yet come to the profit and fruit which it is to give to Christendom.

**The
Prophecies
of Reve-
lation**

This is the way it has been with this book heretofore. Many have tried their hands at it, but until this very day they have reached no certainty; and some have brewed into it many stupid things out of their own heads. Because its interpretation is uncertain and its meaning hidden, we, too, have let it alone hitherto, especially since some of the ancient Fathers held the opinion that it was not the work of St. John, the Apostle, as is found in the *Ecclesiastical History*, Book III, Chapter 25." This question we, for our part, still leave open, so that no one may be compelled to hold it for the work of St. John, the Apostle, or of whomever else he will. Since, however, we would gladly be certain of its meaning, or interpretation, we will give other, and higher, minds something to think about, and also state our own ideas.

Since it is intended as a revelation of things that are to Have Been happen in the future, and especially of tribulations and dis- Fulfilled asters for the Church, we consider that the first and surest step toward finding its interpretation is to take from history the events and disasters that have come upon the Church before now and hold them up alongside of these pictures and so compare them with the words. If, then, the two were to fit and agree with each other, we could build on that, as a sure, or at least an unobjectionable interpretation.

Accordingly we hold,—as, indeed, the text itself says,—that the first three chapters, which speak of the seven congregations in Asia and their angels, have no other purpose than simply to show how these congregations arose at the time, and how they are exhorted to abide and increase, or reform. We learn, besides, that the word “angel” is to be understood later on, in other pictures or visions, to mean bishops and teachers in the Church,—some good, like the holy Fathers and bishops; some bad, like the heretics and false bishops; and in this book there are more of the latter than of the former.

In chapters iv and v, there is a picture of the whole Church A Picture of the Church that is to suffer these future tribulations and plagues. There are four and twenty elders before God (that is, all the bishops and teachers in harmony); they are crowned with faith, and praise Christ, the Lamb of God, with harps (i.e. they preach) and worship Him with censers (i.e. practice themselves in prayer). All this is for the comfort of Christians, that they may know that the Church is to abide, in the plagues that are to come.

In chapter vi, the future tribulations begin. First come Rev. 6:1-8 the bodily tribulations, such as persecution by the temporal and Its government, which is the rider with the bow, upon the white Tribulations: horse; then war and bloodshed, which is the rider with the Physical sword, on the red horse; then scarcity and famine, which is the rider with the scales, on the black horse; then pestilence and the plague, who is the rider like death, upon the pale horse. For these four tribulations always surely follow the

ungrateful and the despisers of God's Word, together with others, such as the overthrow and the changing of governments, all the way down to the Last Day; as is shown in chapter vi; and the souls of the martyrs also work for this, with their crying.

Rev. 6:13 **and** In chapters vii and viii, begins the revelation of the spiritual tribulations, i.e. all kinds of heresies. This is preceded again by a comforting picture, wherein the angel seals the Christians and keeps off the four bad angels; so that once more it is certain that, even under heretics, the Church will have good angels and the pure Word, as the angel shows with his censer, i.e. with prayer. These good angels are the holy Fathers, like Spiridon,²⁰ Athanasius, Hilary,²¹ the Nicene Council, etc.

Rev. 8:7 The first bad angel is Tatian,²² with his Enchrates,²³ who forbade marriage and wanted to become righteous by their works, like the Jews. For the doctrine of work-righteousness had to be the first doctrine against the Gospel, and it also remains the last, except that it is always getting new teachers and new names, such as the Pelagians,²⁴ etc.

The second is Marcion,²⁵ with his Cataphrygians,²⁶ Manichæans,²⁷ Montanists,²⁸ etc., who boast their spirits above all the Scriptures and move, like this burning mountain, between heaven and earth, as do, in our day, Münzer²⁹ and the fanatics.

Rev. 8: The third is Origen,³⁰ who embittered and corrupted the
10, 11 Scriptures with philosophy and reason, as the universities have hitherto done among us.

The fourth is Novatus,³¹ with his Cathari, who denied penance, and wanted to be purer than others. Of this sort, too, were, afterwards, the Donatists.³² Our clergy, however, are all four at once. The scholars, who know history, will know how to reckon this out; for it would take too long to tell it all and prove it.

**Physical
and
Spiritual
Tribulations
Together**

In chapters ix and x the real misery begins, for these earlier bodily and spiritual tribulations are almost a jest compared with the plagues that are to come. At the end of

chapter viii, the angel himself announces that three woes are to come, and these woes are to be inflicted by the other three angels—the fifth, sixth, and seventh—and then the world is to end. Here both kinds of persecution, the bodily and the spiritual come together, and there are to be three of them—the first great, the second greater, the third the greatest of all. Rev. 8:13

Now the first woe, the fifth angel, is Arius,³³ the great heretic, and his companions, who plagued the Church so terribly everywhere that the text here says that righteous people would rather have died than see such things; but they had to see them and not die. Indeed, he says that the angel from hell, called the Destroyer, is their king; as if to say that the devil himself rides them. For they persecuted the true Christians, not only spiritually, but physically, with the sword. Read the history of the Arians, and you will understand this figure and these words. Rev. 9:1-11

The second woe is the sixth angel, the shameful Mohammed, with his companions, the Saracens, who inflicted a great plague on the Church, with their doctrines and with the sword. Along with this angel, in order that this woe may be all the greater, comes the strong angel with the rainbow and the bitter book, that is the holy papacy, with its great spiritual show, the masses. They lay hold upon the temple with their laws, throw out the choir and start a sham church, or outward holy place. Rev. 9: 13: 21

In chapters xi and xii, two comforting pictures are put between these evil woes and plagues; one the picture of the two preachers and the other of the pregnant woman, who bears a man-child, despite the dragon. They indicate that some pious teachers and Christians are to continue, under the first two woes and under the third, which is yet to come. And now the last two woes run together, and make a last combined attack upon the Church, and so, at last, the devil knocks the bottom out of the cask. Rev. 10: 1ff

Then comes, in chapter xiii (in answer to the trumpets of the last of the seven angels, who sounds at the beginning of

chapter xii), this seventh angel's work, the third woe, viz., the papal empire and the imperial papacy. Here the papacy gets the temporal sword also into its power, and rules not only with the book, in the second woe, but also with the sword, in the third woe; for they boast that the pope has both the spiritual and the temporal sword in his power.³⁴

Here, then, are the two beasts; the one is the empire, the other, with the two horns, the papacy, which has now become a temporal kingdom, yet with the reputation and name of Christ. For the pope restored the fallen Roman Empire and conveyed from the Greek to the Germans,³⁵ and it is an image of the Roman Empire rather than the body of the empire, as it once was. Nevertheless, he puts spirit and life into this image, so that it has its classes and laws and members and offices, and actually operates to some extent.³⁶ This is the image that was wounded and did live.

Rev.
13: 14f

The abominations, woes, and injuries which this imperial papacy has wrought, cannot now be told. For, in the first place, by means of his book, the world has been filled with all kinds of idolatry—monasteries, foundations, saints, pilgrimages, purgatory, indulgence, celibacy and innumerable other creations of human doctrine and works. In the second place, who can tell how much bloodshed, slaughter, war, and misery the popes have wrought, both by fighting themselves and stirring up the emperors, kings and princes against one another.

Here, now, the devil's final wrath gets to work; there, in the East, the second woe, Mohammed and the Saracens; here, in the West, papacy and empire, with the third woe. To these is added, for good measure, the Turk, Gog and Magog, as will follow in chapter xx. Thus the Church is plagued most terribly and miserably, everywhere and on all sides, with false doctrines and with wars, with book and sword. That is the dregs, the final plague; after it come almost nothing else than pictures of comfort, telling of the end of all these woes and abominations.

In chapter xiv, Christ first begins to slay His Antichrist

with the breath of His mouth, as Paul says in II Thessalonians ii, and the angel with the Gospel comes against the bitter book of the strong angel. The saints and virgins stand again about the Lamb, and preach the truth. Upon this Gospel follows the second angel's voice, saying that the city of Babylon shall fall and the spiritual papacy be destroyed. II Thessa.
2: 8
Comforting
Visions

It follows, farther, that the harvest shall come, and those who cleave to the papacy against the Gospel shall be cast outside the city of Christ, into the wine-press of God's wrath; i.e., by the Gospel they are separated from the Church and condemned to God's wrath. They are many, and the wine-press yields much blood. Or, perhaps, this may be a just punishment and judgment upon our sins, which are beyond measure and overripe.

After this, in chapters xv and xvi, come the seven angels with the seven bowls. The Gospel increases, and attacks the papacy on all sides by means of many learned and pious preachers, and the throne of the beast, the pope's power, becomes dark and wretched and despised. But they grow wroth and confidently defend themselves; for three frogs, three unclean spirits go forth from the mouth of the beast and stir up kings and princes against the Gospel. But it does not help; the battle takes place at Armageddon. The frogs are the sophists, like Faber and Eck and Emser. They croak much against the Gospel, but accomplish nothing, and continue to be frogs.

In chapter xvii, the imperial papacy and papal empire is included, from beginning to end, in a single picture, and it is shown, as in a summing up, how it is nothing,—for the ancient Roman Empire is long since gone; and yet exists,—for some of its lands, and the city of Rome besides, are still here. This picture is presented here as one presents a malefactor publicly before a court, so that he may be condemned. It is to be known that this beast, too, is shortly to be damned, and "brought to nought by the manifestation of the Lord's coming," as St. Paul says, in II Thessalonians ii. II Thessa.
2: 8

In chapter xviii, this destruction begins and the glorious

great splendor comes to nought, and the courtesans," who rob the endowments and steal the livings, cease to be; for even Rome must be plundered and stormed by its own protector³⁸ at the beginning of the final destruction. Yet they do not leave off; they seek around, they encourage and arm and defend themselves. As he says here, in chapter xix, when they can do nothing more with the Scriptures and with books, and the frogs have croaked their last, they take hold in earnest, try to win by force, and gather kings and princes for battle. But they are disappointed; the one on the white horse wins, until both beast and prophet are seized and cast into hell.

While all this is happening, there comes, in chapter xx, the stirrup-cup³⁹ Gog and Magog, the Turks, the red Jews, whom Satan, who has been bound for a thousand years and, after the thousand years, is loose again, brings up; but they are soon to go with him into the lake of fire. For it is our opinion that this picture, which is separate from the preceding, has been put in because of the Turks, and that the thousand years are to begin at the time when this book was written, and that at that time the devil was bound; though the reckoning need not hold out to the very minute. After the Turks, the Last Judgment follows quickly, at the end of this chapter, as Daniel vii also shows.

At last, in chapter xxi, the final comfort is depicted. The holy city is completely ready and is led as a bride to the eternal marriage; Christ alone is Lord and all the godless are damned and go, with the devil, into hell.

With this interpretation we can profit by this book and make good use of it. First, for our comfort! We can know that neither force nor lies, neither wisdom nor holiness, neither tribulation nor suffering shall suppress the Church, but it will gain the victory and overcome at last.

Second, for our warning against the great and perilous and manifold offense that is to come upon the Church; for because these mighty and imposing powers are to fight

against the Church, and it is to be deprived of outward shape and covered up under so many tribulations and heresies and other faults, it is impossible for the natural reason to recognize the Church. On the contrary, it falls away and takes offense, and calls that the Christian Church which is really the Christian Church's worst enemy. On the other hand it calls them damned heretics who are really the true Christian Church. This has happened before now under the papacy, and Mohammed, and all other heretics. Thus they lose the article of the Creed, "I believe one holy, Christian Church."

Some of the wisecracks are doing just that now; they see heresy and dissension and short-comings of many kinds, they see that there are many false, many ill-living Christians; and so they decide off-hand that there are no Christians. They have heard that Christians are to be a holy, peaceful, united, kindly, virtuous folk. Accordingly, they think that there should be among them no offenses, no heresy, no short-comings, but only peace and virtue. They ought to read this book and learn to look upon the Church with other eyes than those of reason.

For this book, I think, shows enough of terrible and monstrous beasts, horrible and vindictive angels, wild and awful plagues. I shall not speak of the other great faults and weaknesses that have always been in the Church and among the Christians, so that the reason has had to lose the Church among such things. Here we see clearly what cruel offenses and short-comings there have been before our times, and one might think that the Church was now at its best, and that our time is a golden age compared with those that have gone before. Do you not think that the heathen also took offense at these things and held the Christians for self-willed, loose, contentious people?

This article, "I believe one holy, Christian Church," is an article of faith, as well as the rest. The reason, therefore, cannot recognize it, though it puts all its glasses on. The devil can cover it over with offenses and tumults, so that you have to take offense at it. God, too, can hide it with faults

and short-comings of all kinds, so that you become a fool and pass such judgment on it. It will not be known by sight, Heb. 11:1 but by faith, and faith concerns the things we do not see Matt. 11:6 (Hebrews xi); and the Church joins with her Lord in the song, "Blessed is he that takes no offense in me." A Christian, too, is hidden from himself; he does not see his holiness and virtue, but sees in himself only lack of virtue and of holiness; and you, dull wise man, would behold the Church with your blind reason and your unclean eyes!

In a word, our holiness is in heaven, and not in the world, before men's eyes, like goods in the market. Therefore, let there be offenses and tumults and heresy and faults, and let them do what they can! If only the word of the Gospel remains pure among us, and we love and cherish it, we are not to doubt that Christ is with us, even when things are at their worst; for we see, in this book, that, through and above all plagues and beasts and bad angels, Christ is with His saints, and wins the victory at last.

PREFACE TO THE REVELATION OF SAINT JOHN (II)

1522^a

About this book of the Revelation of John, I leave everyone free to hold his own ideas, and would bind no man to my opinion or judgment; I say what I feel. I miss more than one thing in this book, and this makes me hold it to be neither apostolic nor prophetic. First and foremost, the Apostles do not deal with visions, but prophesy in clear, plain words, as do Peter and Paul, and Christ in the Gospel. For it befits the apostolic office to speak of Christ and His deeds without figures and visions; but there is no prophet in the Old Testament, to say nothing of the New, who deals so out and out with visions and figures. And so I think of it

almost as I do of the Fourth Book of Esdras, and can nohow detect that the Holy Spirit produced it.

Moreover, he seems to me to be going much too far when he commends his own book so highly,—more than any of the other sacred books do, though they are much more important,—and threatens that if anyone takes away anything from it, God will deal likewise with him. Again, they are to be blessed who keep what is written therein; and yet no one knows what that is, to say nothing of keeping it. It is just the same as if we had it not, and there are many far better books for us to keep. Many of the fathers, too, rejected this book of old, though St. Jerome, to be sure, praises it highly and says that it is above all praise and that there are as many mysteries in it as words; though he cannot prove this at all, and his praise is, at many points, too mild.

Finally, let everyone think of it as his own spirit gives him to think. My spirit cannot fit itself into this book. There is one sufficient reason for me not to think highly of it,—Christ is not taught or known in it; but to teach Christ is the thing which an apostle is bound, above all else, to do, as He says in Acts i, "Ye shall be my witnesses." Therefore I stick to the books which give me Christ, clearly and purely.

Rev.
22:18f

Acts 1:8

NOTES ON PREFACES TO BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

¹ i.e., "Commit sin."

² Cf. Vol. I, pp. 57f.

³ i.e., Pleasure in the law and love for it.

⁴ *Sich in die freie Schanz schlagen.*

⁵ This text has been preferred to the briefer preface of 1522.

⁶ *Rottengeister.*

⁷ Cf. Vol. II, pp. 37ff.

⁸ From this point the text is identical with that of 1522.

⁹ The followers of Cerinthus, one of the earliest of the Gnostic teachers. Cf. HASTINGS, *Dict. of the Apostolic Church*, I (1916), p. 177, 646, and PRE³, 3:777.

¹⁰ In Luther's order, the four are Hebrews, James, Jude and Revelation.

¹¹ An interpretation explaining away the apparent meaning.

¹² Luther had for this the authority of Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus*, ii, and Eusebius, *Ecccl. History* ii 23, and iii, 25.

¹³ See above, p. 447, n. 11 and 477.

¹⁴ *Amt.*

¹⁵ Or, "lay emphasis on Him" (*Christum treiben*).

¹⁸ This is Luther's rendering of "the spirit that dwelleth in you lusteth to envy" (A. V.).

¹⁹ The bracketed words appear in the edition of 1522 only.

²⁰ The edition of 1522 reads, from this point, "Therefore I will not have him, in my Bible, numbered among the true chief books, though I would not thereby prevent anyone from putting him where he pleases and estimating him as he pleases; for there are many good sayings in him. One man is no man in worldly things; how, then, should this single man alone avail against Paul and all the other Scriptures?"

²¹ Eusebius, HE, iii, 25.

²² Spiridion of Cyprus, one of the more prominent members of the Council of Nicæa in 325.

²³ Hilary of Poitiers (d. 367), "the Athanasius of the West." See Realencyk, 8: 58ff.

²⁴ The famous Christian apologist of the second century. In the later years of his life he advocated strict asceticism, which caused his name to be associated with Encratism. Eusebius (HE, iv, 28) calls him its founder.

²⁵ A party in the Eastern Church which practiced strict asceticism, forbidding the eating of meat, the drinking of wine, and the intercourse of the sexes.

²⁶ The disciples of Pelagius and Coelestius, who taught, in the fifth century, a doctrine of salvation by works. Their doctrine was vigorously opposed by Augustine, and was condemned by the Council of Ephesus in 431.

²⁷ A teacher of heresy in Rome after 140

²⁸ The same as the Montanists.

²⁹ Not a Christian sect, but followers of a religion that came out of Persia, in the fourth century, and was, for a time, a vigorous competitor of Christianity.

³⁰ Disciples of Montanus, a Phrygian "prophet," who claimed immediate inspiration by the Holy Ghost, and sought to revive the Christian institution of prophecy. Luther has their claim of immediate inspiration here in mind.

³¹ Cf. Vol. IV, pp. 206f, 248, 298, 313, 332f.

³² The great Christian scholar of the third century (d. c254). He developed a philosophical Christianity, which was subsequently regarded as containing heretical doctrines. He was condemned as a heretic in 543 and again in 553.

³³ Luther confuses the Carthagian, Novatus, with the Roman presbyter Novatian. The two men lived at the same time (c. 250), and both were involved in schismatic movements, the one at Carthage, the other in Rome. The Novatianists called themselves *Cathari* ("the pure"), in contrast with the Church, which received back into its membership persons who had been guilty of mortal sins, especially idolatry. They founded a church of their own, which continued in existence, in some places, until the seventh century.

³⁴ The Donatistic schism arose in Northern Africa around 313. The Donatists alleged that the validity of an official act of a bishop, or other clergyman, depended on his character: a bishop guilty of mortal sin was not truly a bishop. They separated from the church and existed as a sect for more than a century.

³⁵ Arius, of Alexandria, the founder of the Arian heresy (d. 336).

³⁶ This was officially declared by Boniface VIII, in the bull *Unam Sanctam* (1302)—"We are taught by the words of the Gospel that two swords, the spiritual and the temporal, are in his (the pope's) power."

³⁵ Cf. Vol. II, p. 153.

³⁶ *Gehet eihchermasse im schwange.*

³⁷ The men who comprised the papal court at Rome. Cf. Vol. II, p. 88, n. 3.

³⁸ A reference to the sack of Rome by the army of Charles V, in 1527.

³⁹ i.e., The final draught of the wine of God's wrath.

⁴⁰ This preface was omitted from later editions. See Introduction.

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